INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION AND HARAKMBUT IDENTITY:

A CASE STUDY OF THE COMMUNITY OF SAN JOSE IN SOUTHEASTERN PERU

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ABSTRACT

National governments in Latin America have deliberately used education to try to integrate indigenous peoples into 'modern' society and thereby further economic development. Nevertheless, 'development' in the Amazon has brought widespread destruction of indigenous territories and erosion of the very basis of indigenous identities and ways of life. The failure of formal education has focused indigenous peoples' attention on the need for culturally appropriate education and demands for 'intercultural bilingual' education.

This study examines learning and education in a remote Arakmbut community in the Peruvian Amazon where external political, social and economic influences are threatening indigenous identity. It considers the conflicts and tensions which exist between the formal school, implanted in the community, and the Arakmbut cultural basis of learning, education and knowledge which is built upon a fundamentally different world view. Because of the incompatibility of world views, the Arakmbut have developed strategies to try to limit the influence of the Catholic mission-controlled school and keep their own educational practices distinct.

For many indigenous peoples, intercultural education provides a means of both strengthening and maintaining their way of life and acquiring competencies for their participation in the life of the nation state. However, for the Arakmbut, intercultural education poses a dilemma because its predominantly literate and formal nature threatens their 'informal' learning processes, the spiritual basis of their knowledge and the oral character of their indigenous and collective identity.

The Arakmbut have maintained their unique world view by ensuring their complete control over its transmission to new generations. However, because of threats from outside, they need to be able to strengthen these educational processes. They also need to improve the quality and relevance of the formal education to combat its ethnocidal characteristics. This thesis examines the potential of intercultural bilingual education for achieving both these objectives and concludes that, for the Arakmbut to consider it a useful ally, it must be enshrined in their demands for and expressions of self-determination over their lives. This means that intercultural education cannot be restricted to the school but must encompasses the whole of Arakmbut society.

CONTENTS

LIST OF MAPS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

San José del Karene is an indigenous Arakmbut[1] community situated in the Department of Madre de Dios in southeastern Peru (see Map 1). Its student population of approximately thirty pupils is served by two lay-missionary teachers contracted by the Dominican School Network (RESSOP) in a two classroom school. These monolingual Spanish-speaking missionaries from the Andean highlands teach a national curriculum to monolingual Harakmbut-speaking children in the heart of the Amazon rainforest. The children of this community[2] have been taught through a system which has denied their own language, culture and learning processes since they were first obliged to attend formal school in the 1950s.

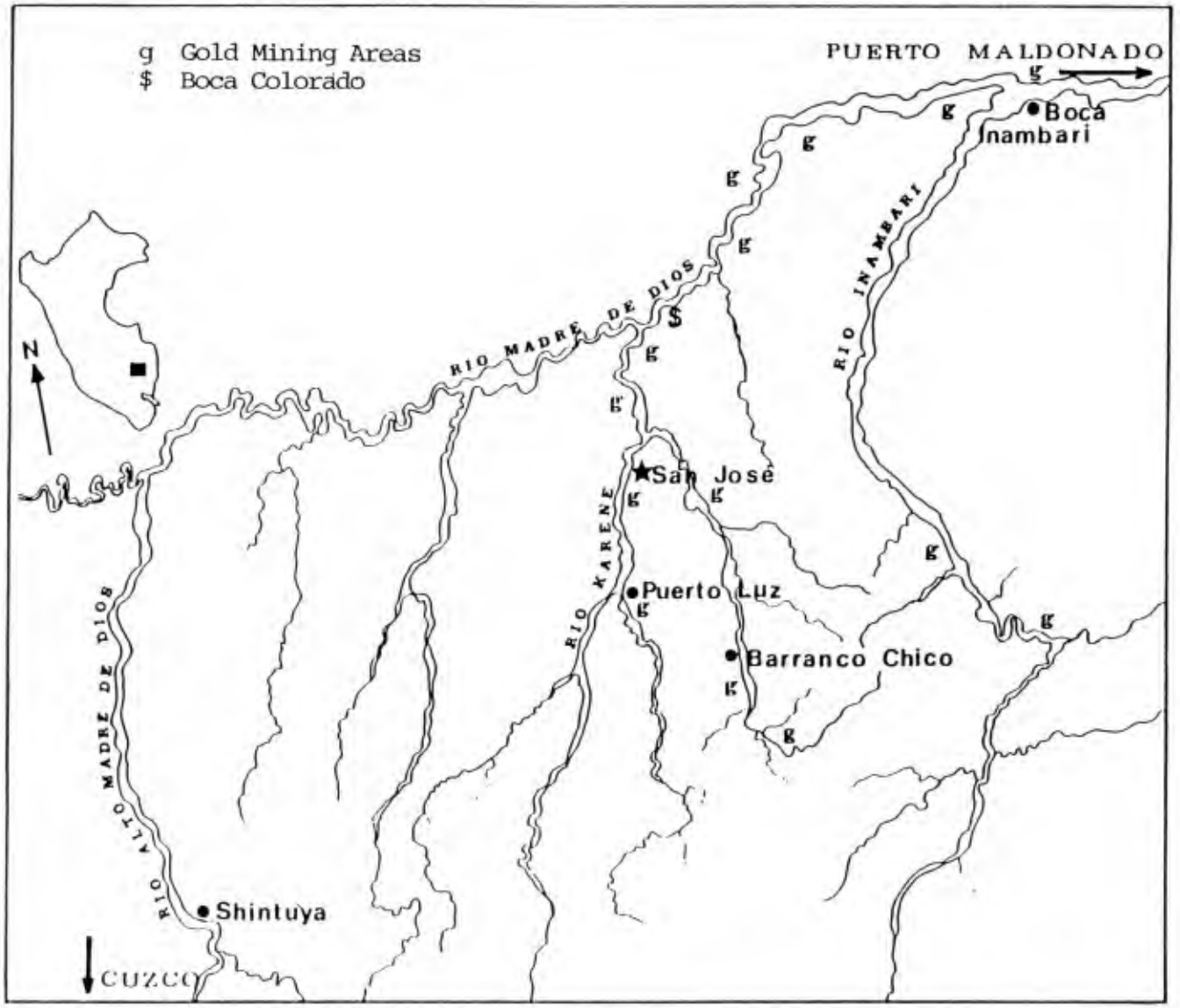
In contrast to this situation, the Peruvian legislation today advocates an education for indigenous[3] children which is intercultural and bilingual. Such an education aims to:

> produce individuals with an optimum communicative competence in their mother tongue and in Spanish, and allow for identification with the individuals' culture of origin and the knowledge of other minority and majority cultures (DIGEBIL 1989:11)[4].

These aims are defined and promoted by the General Directorate for Intercultural Bilingual Education (DIGEBIL) established in 1987 within the Peruvian Ministry of Education. At present DIGEBIL and the Ministry of Education are attempting to translate these aims into practice by developing an intercultural bilingual curriculum for primary schools.

Among representatives from educational institutions in the Department of Madre de Dios there is considerable discussion about introducing an intercultural bilingual school curriculum which will serve the needs of the multicultural and plurilingual population of the Department (CAAAP 1992). Terms such as 'intercultural dialogue' and

MAP 1: San José and the other Arakmbut Communities, Madre de Dios



'social and cultural self-affirmation' (op cit:18) are used, terms which are vague and open to multiple interpretations. There is a flurry of enthusiasm among the indigenous organisations, non-indigenous support organisations and the Dominican Diocese for qualitative change in indigenous schooling. However, each organisation has its own agenda and its own perception of what intercultural bilingual education is.

The Educational Supervisor/Coordinator of the Dominican School Network welcomes the discussion and considers that, whereas in the past bilingual education focused on languages, intercultural education encompasses not only language but folklore, artisan work and the economy (pers. comm. G. Quierolo 27.8.91). The Federation of Native Communities of the Madre de Dios River and its Tributaries (FENAMAD) also welcomes the discussion and is anxious to introduce mother-tongue teaching as a means to help "redeem and revalue the culture of each of our ethnic groups" (FENAMAD 1991). This organisation is engaged on the development of an intercultural bilingual primary school programme for the Harakmbut peoples of Madre de Dios, where initial soundings in the indigenous communities suggest there will be, on the whole, a favourable and enthusiastic response. However, the Arakmbut of San José del Karene[5], who are daily encountering bilingual and intercultural situations, reject any moves to introduce their language or culture into the school.

San José is a small community with approximately 130 inhabitants, which is struggling against great odds to maintain its language, culture and indigenous identity in a region which is experiencing massive colonisation and ecological destruction. Many indigenous peoples in other parts of the Peruvian Amazon, who face similar pressures, have turned to education as a means of helping to counteract the ethnocidal influences of the dominant society and culture. However, the members of San José state that they want their school to continue to be run by

Dominican missionaries and their indigenous language and culture kept quite apart. The initial reaction by FENAMAD and other organisations involved in promoting intercultural bilingual education has been to dismiss San José's response as typical of the intransigent position displayed by this community in many matters and to assume that the community will come round to FENAMAD's perspective given time. This thesis is concerned with understanding the position taken by the community of San José and understanding the motives and reasons behind such a position, as well as considering what intercultural bilingual education could have to offer the Arakmbut and on what terms the Arakmbut would be prepared to countenance it.

The changes mooted in education for indigenous communities in Madre de Dios are couched in terms of improving quality and relevance through the introduction of a new school curriculum which is intercultural and bilingual. However, to consider education as strictly confined to the formal school system is to negate all the educational processes which are indigenous to the Arakmbut themselves and to concentrate on a system of education which has been implanted from outside of Arakmbut culture and society. This thesis looks at the tensions which exist between the two different culturally based forms of education - the national institutionalised formal system, and the informal education indigenous to the Arakmbut. The tensions are expressed by both the lay-missionary teachers and by the community members and are manifestations of distinct educational processes, epistemologies and world views.

Furthermore, these tensions or cultural 'discontinuities' raise important questions about what school is perceived to be for and what it is trying to accomplish in an indigenous community. In San José, where the community wants to retain its mission-controlled school and rejects

a new 'culturally appropriate' curriculum, the community's perception of what schooling is for differs considerably from that of the organisations proposing change. Consequently, what is an 'appropriate' or 'relevant' education depends on whose perceptions of 'relevant' and whose perspectives of schooling are being considered. What the community considers a relevant and qualitative education for their children is not necessarily what others accord with and, because it differs, should not be brushed aside as 'intransigency'. It has to be considered and understood in terms of the Arakmbut's specific cultural educational processes and their recent history and experience of formal education.

This clash of perceptions presents important considerations for control of schooling and curriculum development. In San José, educational change based on outside perceptions of what is qualitative and relevant change and carried out 'on their behalf' runs the risk of being rejected by the community. Where the indigenous community has control over decision-making and where non-indigenous 'experts' work in co-operation and collaboration with the community, there is more possibility of making qualitative changes which the community also considers relevant. One of the keys to achieving this is to begin by understanding and acknowledging the expertise which the community possesses and by breaking out of the straight-jacket approach of 'education as schooling' which persists in the Department of Madre de Dios.

The Ethnographic Background

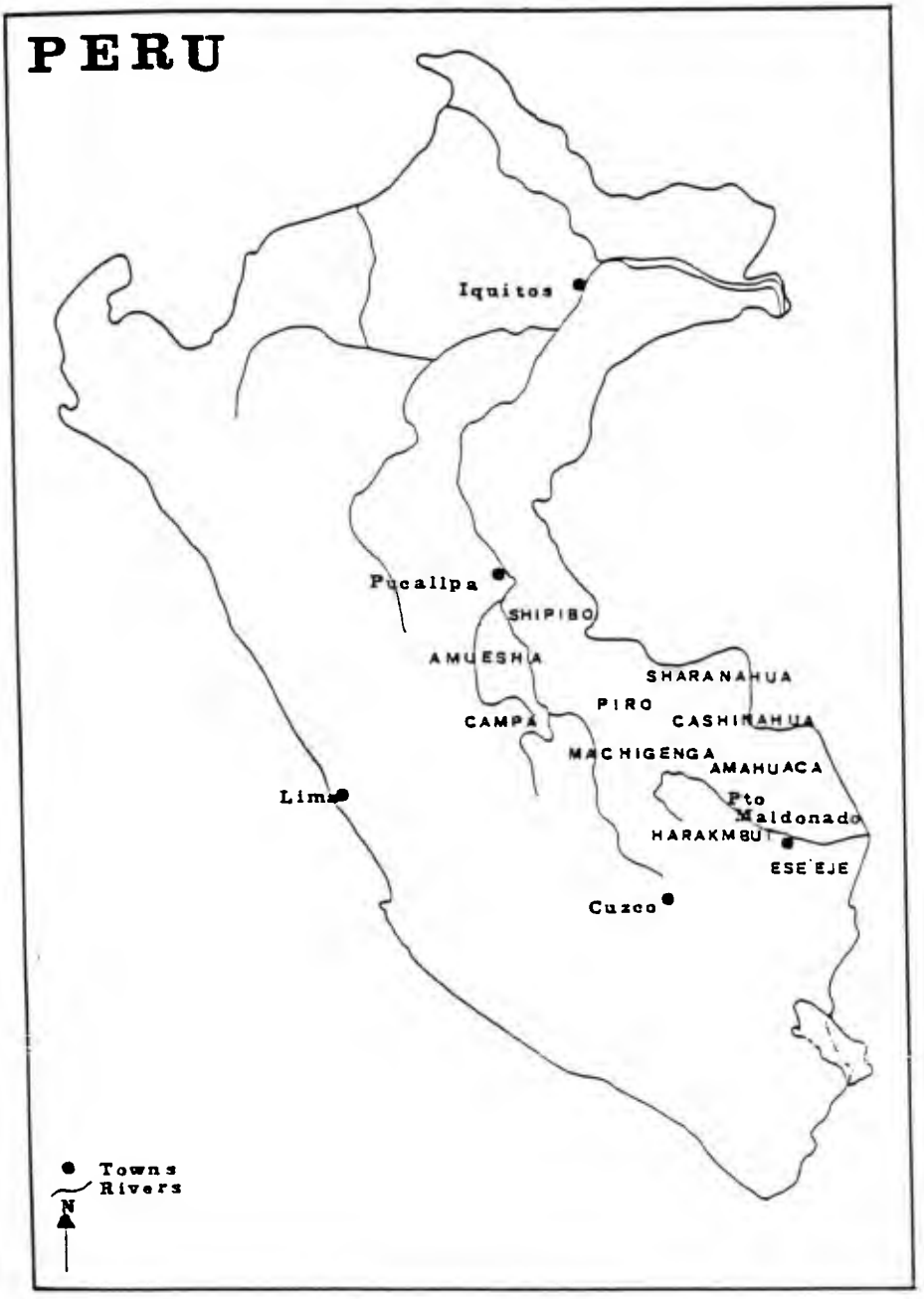
The ethnic composition of Madre de Dios is relatively complex and the indigenous population today is sparse and dispersed throughout the Department. The Arakmbut of San José are Harakmbut speaking and belong to one of four different language families and 17 ethnolinguistic groups

in Madre de Dios. These include the Tacana-speaking Ese'eja who live downriver from the Department capital of Puerto Maldonado and across the border into Bolivia; the Arawak-speaking Matsigenka and Piro who live in the north and west of the Department; and the Panoan-speaking Amahuaca, Cashinahua and Sharanahua who live in the east (see Map 2). Today there are also some Shipibo-Conibo and Kichwa (Santarrosinos) who were brought to the area during the rubber boom at the turn of the century.

The Harakmbut-speaking peoples comprise the Arakmbut, Wachipaeri, Arasaeri, Pukirieri, Toyeri, Sapitaeri and Kisambaeri and number approximately 1,500. The suffix 'eri' means 'people of' and the word Harakmbut means 'people'. There is currently some debate about the status of the languages spoken by each of the different Harakmbut groups as to whether they are one language with different dialects (Lyon 1976) or several languages within the Harakmbut linguistic family (d'Ans 1973; Ribeiro and Wise 1978). Helberg (1989) notes the lack of thorough research into the linguistic situation of the Harakmbut language and considers Harakmbut an, as yet, unclassified language.

The Arakmbut today are the largest Harakmbut-speaking people and number approximately 1,000 persons. The Arakmbut survived the worst ravages of slavery and disease during and after the rubber boom at the turn of the century due to their then relative isolation in the headwaters of the Karene and Isiriwe rivers. Today they live in communities: San José, Puerto Luz, Shintuya, Barranco Chico and Boca Inambari (see Map 3). Prior to mission contact in the 1940s and 1950s, the Arakmbut were subdivided into two regional groups which consisted of several 'malocas' (large communal houses) which took their name from the river or stream where they were situated. These regional groups still distinguish Puerto Luz (Kipodneri) from the other four communities (Wandakweri).

MAP 2: Indigenous Peoples of the Peruvian Amazon

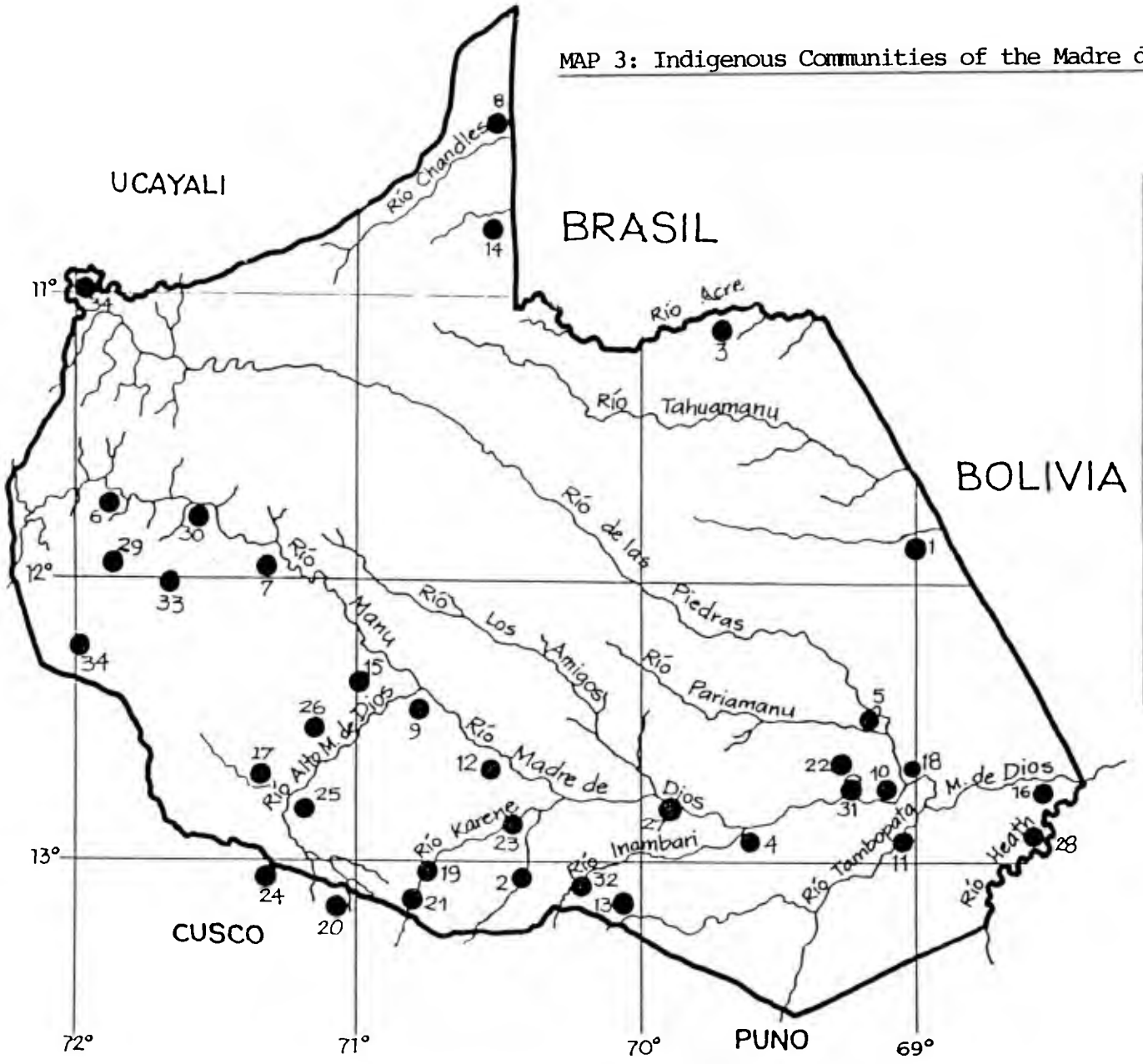


The Department of Madre de Dios has an area of 78,402,71 km2 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 1983) and consists of lowland tropical rainforest. In 1988, when the Peruvian government was decentralised, Madre de Dios became a Subregion of the Inka Region which includes two former Andean Departments and the Madre de Dios[6]. The Department of Madre de Dios borders to the south east, east and north east with the international frontiers of Bolivia and Brazil, and in the north with the Ucayali Region and the Central Rainforest. In the west the terrain changes abruptly from lowland tropical rainforest (selva baja) to upland rainforest (ceja de selva) and continues to rise to the steep and densely forested tropical slopes of the Carabaya range and the Departments of Cusco and Puno. The river Madre de Dios has its source in the high Andean mountain chain in the west and is the major means of communication through the Department, from its torrential headwaters to its confluence with the Manu river where it becomes broader and quieter and passes by Puerto Maldonado and then into Bolivia. There it joins the River Beni and then the River Madeira in Brazil and eventually the Amazon River.

Madre de Dios has a wide variety of natural resources which are exploited for their economic potential, such as Brazil nuts, timber, rubber and gold. Rice, maize and beans are grown on a relatively small scale but cattle raising has increased in the last decade witnessed by the large extensions of cleared land which now do not support any form of agriculture or forest cover due to erosion of the shallow and fragile soil.

Today Madre de Dios has a population of some 49,000 inhabitants which increases to between 80,000 and 90,000 from November to March, due to an influx of highland migrants who come to work in the gold mining areas. Approximately 10,000 are indigenous to Madre de Dios.

MAP 3: Indigenous Communities of the Madre de Dios



NATIVE COMMUNITIES OF THE MADRE DE DIOS	
1. Alerta	18. Puerto Arturo
2. Barranco Chico	19. Puerto Luz
3. Belgica	20. Queros
4. Boca Inambari	21. Samaninonteni
5. Boca Pariamanu	22. San Jacinto
6. Cashpajali	23. San Jose de Karene
7. Cumerjali	24. Santa Rosa de Huacaria
8. Chandless	25. Shintuya
9. Diamante	26. Shipetiari
10. El Pilar	27. Shiringayoc
11. Infierno	28. Sonene
12. Boca Isirwe	29. Sotileja
13. Malinowski	30. Tayakome
14. Manchineri	31. Tres Islas
15. 'Mascho'-Piro	32. Villa Santiago
16. Palma Real	33. Yomibato
17. Palotao-Teparo	34. Yora

By Tanith Oldrtegui del Castillo

based on map by Eori Centre 1991

The Concept of Intercultural Bilingual Education

There are certain broad definitions of intercultural bilingual education that provide a starting place for this study. At their simplest, both 'intercultural' and 'bicultural' bilingual education programmes are concerned with providing an education in two languages and two or more cultures. We can distinguish a broad geographical distinction in the use of the term 'bicultural' and 'intercultural' between Central America and South America respectively, but this is by no means exclusive and is based on historical patterns of use rather than differences in aims and objectives. Included under both terms, as well as under the term 'bilingual education', are programmes whose main aim is to use education as a means of strengthening indigenous language and culture and providing majority society skills and competencies. These programmes propose different degrees of indigenous control and self-determination. Included under all three terms we also find education programmes aimed at providing a more relevant education for indigenous peoples in order to facilitate their integration within the national society. These programmes are top-down and have assimilationist goals.

In Peru, the term 'intercultural bilingual education' is used in many different ways to describe very different kinds of education programmes for indigenous people. It is also often used interchangeably with 'bilingual education' and 'bilingual-bicultural education'. This thesis is concerned with understanding what different groups of people mean when they use the terms, in particular those concerned with education in San José.

DIGEBIL has adopted the term 'intercultural bilingual education' and this has become the most widely used term in Peru. DIGEBIL has chosen this term rather than 'bicultural' to avoid the suggestion that

'bicultural education' is an education leading to the use of two cultures simultaneously (Trapnell 1984:242). Pozzi-Escot asks whether someone can really hold two different conceptions of the world simultaneously, particularly where, for indigenous peoples, the conceptions are not only fundamentally different but antagonistic (1990a:406). However, DIGEBIL states unequivocally that it considers that a child has one culture, its culture of origin and the culture with which it identifies, to which it adds knowledge of other cultures which could be of value to it through schooling (DIGEBIL 1989:11). A meeting in 1983 of the UNESCO-sponsored 'Major Project of Education in Latin America and the Caribbean' considered the term 'intercultural' more appropriate than 'bicultural' because it refers to someone with one culture who has the abilities to use it and also to function within another cultural setting (Mosonyi and Rengifo 1983:212). Within the DIGEBIL concept of intercultural bilingual education the languages and cultures of the different ethnic groups are expected to constitute the basic structure and content of the formal education process but "gradually and in a non-conflictive and non-substitutive way, all the thematic areas from the majority culture which the indigenous child requires will be aggregated" (DIGEBIL ibid.).

However, the situation in schools and Peruvian society is quite distinct from the theory and official rhetoric. The term 'intercultural' employed in this way glosses over the political relations which exist between the different ethnic groups and between the 'national' culture and the indigenous cultures in Peru. Mino-Garces argues that the term 'intercultural' suggests intercommunication between two or more cultures based on a mutual understanding and respect for each other, a situation which rarely exists. She suggests, therefore, that the term 'dicultural' be employed because of its association with the term borrowed from

linguistics, 'diglossia'. In Peru, diglossia refers to a situation where the indigenous mother tongue is considered subordinate to the colonial language (Spanish) which enjoys greater social prestige in terms of the functions it carries out in society (Lopez et al. 1987:99). 'Dicultural', therefore, refers to the relationship between high prestige and low prestige cultures and to situations where one cultural and linguistic behaviourial norm is 'acceptable' and not the other (Mino-Garces 1982). However, given the institutionalised nature of DIGEBIL's programme, the term 'dicultural' has not been adopted. The term 'intercultural' reflects much more the top-down approach of the Ministry of Education and its perspective of Peru as a country with many cultures (that is multicultural) rather than only two (bicultural).

Intercultural bilingual education in Peru is conceived predominantly in terms of primary schooling for children. This schooling is formal and its intercultural and bilingual character is defined through the curriculum and language policy. This implies that it takes as its baseline the concepts of 'schooling' and 'curriculum'. The way in which an intercultural bilingual school curriculum is developed is, furthermore, determined by the particular conception of 'culture' which guides the development process. This also has a profound bearing on how the interrelations between cultures and languages are perceived.

Defining Terms: Culture and Curriculum

- Conceptions of Culture

The concept 'culture' has many meanings and is used in different ways. For example, one restricted view refers to 'high culture' and 'the arts'. Tylor provides a broad definition emphasising the beliefs, customs, laws, forms of knowledge and art, etc. which are acquired by individuals as members of a particular society:

> Culture or civilisation, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (1871).

Thompson considers this conception of culture 'descriptive' (1990:127). Following Kroeber, culture is, moreover, the mass of learned and transmitted motor reactions, habits, techniques, ideas and values and the behaviour they induce (1963:8).

The concept of 'culture' should not be confused with 'social' or 'society':

> The category of the social and that of the cultural are not identical, as is commonly supposed, since there may be social phenomena which are not cultural facts such as the size of a given population, and cultural phenomena which are not social, such as the creation of a poem by an individual (Bidney 1953:26).

Another approach to understanding culture which also distinguishes it from social relations is the 'symbolic' dimension. For Geertz, culture is primarily concerned with meaning. Individuals are engaged in producing, perceiving and interpreting actions and expressions which have meaning for them within the course of their everyday lives (Thompson ibid:131). In both the 'descriptive' and 'symbolic' conceptions of culture, knowledge, religion and language are all part of holistic world views.

While, according to Geertz, culture is constantly being interpreted, Wagner (1981) moves a step further and argues that culture is dynamic and constantly being created. This perspective has important implications for the development of any intercultural education programme in terms of who is interpreting culture and who is creating it; and who is defining culture for the purpose of the education programme and on what basis. Such a conception of culture creates the potential for power differences between interpretations. In defining 'culture' for the purposes of an intercultural education programme,

control over the definition may reflect the already unequal relations between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples and serve the aims of the latter. In subsequent chapters, we will compare different conceptions of 'culture' used by indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in educational programmes.

There is not only the question of who defines 'culture' but also who defines the characteristics of specific cultures for the purpose of designing and planning intercultural curricula. Trend notes that education and culture are usually considered separate issues with the former "functioning as a delivery mechanism for the latter" (1992:9). Lawton takes this view and considers that cultural analysis can provide educationalists with information about the kind of society they are dealing with and the kind of knowledge and experience it comprises. From this cultural information, the curriculum planner can make selections of the most appropriate knowledge and experience in order to design a curriculum that will act as a means of transmitting this culture from one generation to the next (Lawton 1983). This process demands a relatively static and bounded conception of culture with clearly defined parameters. And it illustrates that those who define the concept of culture on which the analysis is based, and those who subsequently select what they consider 'appropriate' knowledge, effectively define all aspects of the educational programme. Their control is even more pervasive where more than one culture is concerned and the decisions, definitions and selections are being made by representatives of one culture on behalf of another.

Indigenous knowledge and learning processes in San José provide an example of a relativistic and flexible world view which characterises the Arakmbut conception of culture (see Chapter 6). Within this conception there is an inter-connectedness of Arakmbut knowledge which

has a fundamentally different epistemological basis from western knowledge. For an intercultural education programme to reflect an indigenous perception of indigenous culture, any analysis should be made on indigenous terms by indigenous people. One of the fundamental differences between Arakmbut indigenous knowledge and western knowledge, with implications for curriculum planning, is that Arakmbut cultural knowledge does not divide into discrete areas such as history, geography, economics or science. Moreover, it has a profoundly oral character and its teaching and learning processes are 'informal'.

- Conceptions of Curriculum

Conceptions of curriculum vary enormously. There are wide definitions such as that by Dave who takes curriculum to be "all goal directed activities that are generated by the school whether they take place in the institution or outside it" (Dave, cited in Hawes and Stephens 1990:67). Alternatively, there are narrower and more static views of curriculum as "all the different courses of study that are taught in a school, college or university" (Collins Cobuild Dictionary 1987). Hawes and Stephens choose not to use the term at all because of the widespread understanding of curriculum to mean only a centrally produced programme and materials and its implementation by specialists in a process of "spreading the work from the prophets at the centre to the faithful in the field" (Hawes and Stephens ibid:64).

However, there are also two very different ways in which the term is used. There is the 'official curriculum' which is an intention, plan or prescription and, consequently, an ideal which is drawn up usually by specialists. On the other hand, there is the curriculum which exists in the schools and reflects the actual classroom practices (Stenhouse 1975). The curriculum as a particular social practice expands the

concept to include consideration of discourse, subjectivity, power and ideology, and is conceived in terms of cultural transmission and ideological communication (Green 1993).

In Peru, a narrow centralised conception of curriculum, controlled and directed by a small team of specialists at the Ministry of Education in Lima, dominates formal education. By demanding the right to determine the nature of their education and control decision making, indigenous peoples aim to close the gap between the curriculum as an intent and the curriculum as the practice in their schools. By moving the hub of decision-making away from specialists in Lima to the community and indigenous teachers, indigenous peoples can control not only the conceptions of culture and curriculum being used in the development of intercultural education but the ideological and cultural transmission.

Bernstein considers curriculum in terms of three message systems: valid knowledge (including school subjects, syllabus and textbooks); pedagogy (what counts as valid transmission of this knowledge); and evaluation (what counts as a valid realisation of this knowledge on the part of the taught) (Bernstein 1971:47). In terms of developing a school curriculum Dave presents these message systems as five components, which provide an insight into the breadth and depth of the issues and processes involved in a curriculum: aims and objectives; curriculum plan; teaching methods and learning activities; learning materials; and evaluation (Dave op. cit.). Moreover, it is not just knowledge which is culturally constructed but the aims, objectives and the delivery mechanism itself. The more control that indigenous peoples have over decision-making in the development of intercultural schooling, the more they can determine the cultural basis and the social practices of all these components. Thus, curriculum planning cannot be seen as a neutral activity; it raises political issues.

Nevertheless, one fundamental difference between the education of Arakmbut of San José within the community and the education of children within the school is that the former does not have a 'curriculum' in the any of the above senses. Chapter 6 looks at the 'informal' nature of learning in Arakmbut society and how this differs from the formal learning structures of the school (discussed in Chapter 4). The 'informality' pervades Arakmbut education and defies the kind of categorisation and compartmentalisation which Dave presents. While Arakmbut education has all of Dave's components, they are not formalised as such within a defined system. There are discrete areas of cultural knowledge which children learn at particular times in their lives, structured by age and sex but the teaching, learning and evaluation cannot be isolated from each other. Instead, they merge into each other. Learning materials are part of a child's physical and cultural environment and not distinguished from it because of any intrinsic learning quality. Consequently, the qualitative differences between indigenous Amazon education and the formal education system are enormous. In all these respects, Arakmbut education is similar to other indigenous Amazon peoples' educational processes.

Intercultural education is concerned with bridging the gap between two cultures (or more) and the different educations they offer indigenous children whose lives today are influenced by two distinct cultural traditions. Intercultural education is qualitatively different from both indigenous education and schooling. For it to be an education which indigenous peoples consider appropriate for them it must be based in indigenous concepts and designed according to indigenous aims and objectives.

Research Methods

This thesis is based on an ethnographic study carried out in the Arakmbut community of San José between October 1991 and June 1992 with a further four week visit to the community in December 1993. The study focused primarily on the role of formal education in the lives of the Arakmbut of San José, their relationship to the school, their own forms of teaching and learning, and on comprehending their aspirations for schooling and their children's education. The research was oriented to developing an understanding of why this community adamantly wanted a lay-missionary run school yet was uncooperative with the lay-missionary teachers who ran the school, and also to understanding the differences between indigenous educational processes and the processes of the formal school.

The choice of this community and the research questions arose out of my previous contact with the Harakmbut peoples. Between 1979 and 1981, I spent 18 months in San José where I carried out a study of gender relations (Aikman n.d.). I returned again to the community in 1985 and my continuing relationship with the Harakmbut has involved supporting their initiatives in land rights and study grants through my work with the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, in Copenhagen.

Because of my long-term involvement with the Harakmbut, and particularly the Arakmbut of San José, I had gathered a considerable amount of background information and understanding about their culture and society on which to build my analysis of the educational situation. I had also a basis in the Harakmbut language. The nature of my previous relations with the members of the community determined to a large extent the extremely informal approach to data gathering which I pursued. Formal interviews were only possible with the university students and

the lay-missionary teachers. My data gathering was integrated into the daily activities which I carried out together with members of the family with whom I lived, and through engaging other members of the community in informal talk as daily activities brought me into contact with them. The community is small and each person is a member of one of seven clans. The pattern of relations I had established over the last decade were not conducive to working with one informant whose particular clan affiliation could have restricted my relationship with members of other clans. Consequently, I gathered my data from all members throughout the community over a period of nine months.

During my stay in Peru from August 1991 to July 1992, I spent a short period in each of the five Arakmbut communities as well as the Arasaeri community of Villa Santiago and the small mixed Kisambaeri and Matsigenka of Boca Isiriwe. I also had the opportunity to visit Shipibo, Piro and Ashaninka communities in the Central Rainforest and meet and discuss with the Directors of both the Instituto Superior Pedagógico Bilingüe de Yarinacocha and the AIDESEP/ISPL teacher training courses (see Appendix A and Chapter 9).

I spent only a limited time (1 week) in the San José classrooms during school hours. This was partly because the nature of my research concerned me predominantly with extra-classroom relations. However, the classrooms were organised on such a formal basis and so rigidly controlled by the teachers that I was limited to observing silently from the back of each class and more time would not have been particularly profitable. The teachers also showed obvious surprise and slight disconcertedness that I should want to be there at all. This, I believe, derived from the fact that they were totally unaccustomed to having another adult in the classroom. The teachers received only very rare visits from the RESSOP supervisor in his capacity as evaluator and

overseer of their work (cf. p.81). Thus, their experience of other adults in their classroom was as critic rather than collaborator. On a personal level, however, I was able to establish good relations with the teachers, one of whom I knew from my visit in 1985, who provided me with access to the school records, and with whom I discussed at length the difficulties they experienced as teachers in San José.

Consequently this thesis focuses on what might be termed the 'macro' processes of schooling in San José rather than the 'micro' processes of the classroom[7]. The present research examines the underlying features of the community's rejection of intercultural bilingual education and presents possible avenues for qualitative educational change. Future research into 'micro' classroom interaction and practices using the present work as a basis would be extremely valuable in terms of producing concrete proposals for an Arakmbut culturally appropriate classroom pedagogy.

Footnotes

1. The Arakmbut people are also called 'Amarakaeri' in the anthropological literature. At an intercommunity meeting in 1992 they decided to reject this name because of pejorative connotations of the term in favour of 'Arakmbut'. Throughout this thesis 'Arakmbut' is used to refer specifically to the members of the five Arakmbut communities (see Map 1), while the term 'Harakmbut' is used only when considering Arakmbut and other Harakmbut-speaking peoples, such as the Wachipaeri or Arasaeri, and also when referring to the language.

2. The term 'community' in Peru can be used as both a sociological concept and to refer to the legal and administrative 'Native Community' ('Comunidad Nativa'). In the case of the Arakmbut (and Harakmbut) the two concepts are coterminous.

3. 'Indigenous' is a term now widely accepted nationally and internationally to refer to the colonised peoples of the world who are prevented from controlling their own lives, resources and cultures. Indigenous peoples hold a special relationship with the land and this relationship is a fundamental part of their identity. This aspect of 'indigenousness' separates indigenous peoples from ethnic minorities. The meaning of 'indigenous' has been discussed at some length in Aikman 1990, Chapter 1.

4. All quotations which are originally in Spanish have been translated by S. Aikman.

5. Referred to forthwith as 'San José'.

6. Today there are moves afoot to have Madre de Dios recognised as a region in its own right because of its geographical, demographic and ecological distinctiveness from the other two Departments. For this reason we will refer to the Department of Madre de Dios, rather than the Sub-region.

7. Ogbu's (1987) work on types of anthropological study of minority education has led to a fierce debate and a labelling of research into 'micro' and 'macro', particularly by Foley (1991) and countered by Trueba (1991). McCarty emphasises with respect to his research with the Navajo that what facilitates an understanding of classroom processes are dispositions and contexts which draw upon both 'micro' processes and cultural variables in the classroom with larger 'macro' forces and social structural variables (McCarty 1991).

CHAPTER 2: INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' EDUCATION FROM ASSIMILATION TO CULTURAL PLURALISM: PERU IN CONTEXT

Official recognition of intercultural bilingual education has not been confined to Peru, nor are its roots to be sought exclusively in Peru. It has found widespread acceptance in Latin America over the last decade as part of a wider move towards cultural pluralism, particularly in countries with large indigenous populations such as Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Bolivia and in Peru itself where approximately 40 per cent of the population is indigenous.

After 400 years, during which time Colonial and Republican governments tried to eradicate or ignore the indigenous peoples within their boundaries and failed, much of the 20th century has witnessed policies concerned with their cultural eradication through their integration and assimilation into the nation state. It is only over the last two decades that there have been any attempts by national governments to perceive cultural diversity as a positive national characteristic. Today intercultural bilingual education has become an expedient for governments in order to foster 'unity in diversity' (Peru) and encourage indigenous peoples to become 'integrated but respected' (Argentina). The Guatemalan National Programme for Bilingual Bicultural Education aims to:

> sustain the coexistence of two cultures and different languages.... in order to contribute to a national Guatemalan consciousness (Acuerdo Ministerial No. 997, cited in Chiodi 1990:248).

However, some states have come to intercultural bilingual education through a close co-operation with the indigenous peoples themselves and have produced policy statements with a distinctly different tone. For example, the General Department for Indigenous

Education in Mexico requires bilingual bicultural education to:

> maintain the identity of the communities and avoid their destruction and cultural substitution (D.G.E.I. 1983, cited in Citarella 1990a:70).

Ecuador, meanwhile, has created a National Directorate of Intercultural Bilingual Indigenous Education through an agreement between the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador. Therefore, on the one hand, the advent of intercultural bilingual education seems to imply a dramatic move towards a new ethos of cultural tolerance and diversity. However, on the other hand, there are indications that for some countries, such as Guatemala, intercultural bilingual education may be no more than meaningless rhetoric, empty legislation and a de facto continuation of old assimilationist policies.

Education for Assimilation and Integration

In Latin American countries during the late 19th century, a racialist positivism predominated whereby the indigenous peoples (or 'Indians') were considered innately inferior to Mestizos (people of mixed descent) and a barrier to national economic development, referred to as the 'Indian problem' (see Morin 1988).

In Peru during the late 19th century, philosophers struggling to rebuild the country after its humiliating defeat by Chile in the Pacific War sought a new model for nationhood which would encompass the indigenous population and forge a new identity for the young state. But it was clear to all the intellectuals that this new nation would only be possible once the Indians were assimilated and civilised; that is, they believed that once the Indians ceased to be Indian the 'Indian problem' would cease to exist. Whether the term applied was 'integration', 'acculturation', 'assimilation' or 'civilisation', the indigenous

population was to discard its 'customs' and language and become part of the capitalist state. The Amazon was not contemplated within this scheme and at the turn of the century the indigenous Amazon population was considered fit only for slavery and exploitation and suffered a huge reduction in numbers through the boom and bust economics of rubber exploitation (cf. Pennano 1988; Rummenhöller 1990).

The Mexican Revolution of 1910 provided an important stimulus for indigenous education. A group of Revolutionary leaders, following a reformist positivist ideology, saw a potential for turning the 'Indians' into agents of progress and national development (Pike 1973:16). Peru and Mexico were thus hatching grounds for developments of a philosophical orientation in support of indigenous peoples, 'indigenismo' (indigenism)[1]. The proponents of indigenismo, the 'indigenistas' promoted schooling and formal education for the indigenous peoples.

However, the situation in Peru was quite distinct from that in Mexico. In Peru, indigenismo was fostered by a small elite group of intellectuals. There was no agrarian reform or popular revolution to transform the oligarchical landholding system and the vast majority of the indigenous population of the Andean region lived and worked on feudal haciendas. Religious sects continued to hold sway over education in many parts of the country.

The Peruvian philosopher, Mariátegui, was the first person to analyse the 'Indian problem' in terms of economy and class. He claimed that until there was a reform of the land tenure system and the Indians themselves gained their land, any education aimed at raising them out of their misery and ignorance would fail. He also criticised different attempts to reorganise education by looking abroad for solutions, for example, by adopting the French philosophy of encyclopedism as a basis

for the curriculum which predominated in Peruvian schools and universities (Tauro 1970:12-13).

The growing influence of the indigenistas was felt in the 1933 Peruvian Constitution which contained several articles concerning the indigenous population and affirmed that "the State will dictate the civil, penal, economic, educational and administrative legislation which the particular conditions of the indigenous peoples demand" (cited in Citarella 1990b:23). Although these legal dispositions remained dead letters, the germ of later developments in indigenous education in Peru are to be found during this period in independent experimental programmes. These programmes were carried out in the Peruvian Andes, primarily in the Puno region where the largest concentration of the indigenous monolingual population was situated (and still is) and where no schools existed during the first half of the 20th century.

These programmes included Adventist schools which emphasised the revaluation of the Aymaran indigenous society in the face of strong opposition from the landowners who saw this education as a direct threat to their power over the indigenous peoples. Also working in the Puno region, albeit with Spanish speakers, was Jose Antonio Encinas who was an advocate of the rights of the Indian and influenced by the educational philosophy of Dewey. Encinas developed his ideas for an 'escuela nueva', a 'new school' based on radically different methods, content and role for the teacher as social mentor and guide (Hidalgo C. 1990).

In these experiments in indigenous education in the first decades of the 20th century we find some of the principles which characterise intercultural bilingual education today: respect for indigenous language and culture; and advocacy of human rights and human dignity. The teachers and the schools were concerned with more than simply instilling

facts and figures, but also with revitalising indigenous culture, raising indigenous consciousness and renewing indigenous self-esteem. However, the ultimate aims were still the assimilation of the indigenous population into the national society.

During the 1940s in both Peru and Mexico, the political influence of the indigenistas increased, which resulted in the promotion of indigenous languages for teaching mother-tongue speakers and the first schools in the Amazon region for the indigenous peoples. However, in spite of the progressive aims of the educationalists, the schooling remained predominantly integrationist, and bilingual education was a "pedagogical means to the quickest Hispanification of the aboriginal" (Citarella op. cit.:29). Nevertheless, the indigenistas had succeeded in putting indigenous peoples' rights on the political agenda: rights to education, to be part of the modern state and respect for indigenous cultures. Indigenous peoples were no longer considered outside of society or without 'civilisation', but were people who could not fully enter into the body of the nation until they had mastered the nation's language and culture, and bilingual teaching promised the swiftest and most efficient method of achieving this[2].

Luis Valcarcel, Minister for Education in the 1940s, set up the first Campesino School Nuclei (Núcleos Escolares Campesinos) in the Peruvian Andes based on a Bolivian model. It was concerned with putting the benefits of 'civilisation' within reach of the aboriginal population; teaching them agricultural practices which would improve their use of resources; encouraging hygienic practices with a view to improving communal health and encouraging physical and spiritual vigour; stimulating and improving cottage industries; and diffusing the Spanish language (Citarella op. cit.).

Valcarcel used his official position to foster the Campesino

School Nuclei and by 1955 there were 66 Nuclei and 726 schools. Nevertheless the schools suffered from both a lack of public funding and a resistance to mother-tongue teaching by parents who wanted education for their children only in the Spanish language because of the potential economic opportunities it afforded. This resistance was, and is, a recurring feature in some mother-tongue education projects (as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8).

During the Second World War and through the 1950s government spending on education and school enrolment increased in Peru. The government saw education as a great hope for the future of a 'modern' state by imparting 'modern' attitudes as well as the skills and knowledge considered necessary to foster economic growth, raise standards of living, generate widespread and equal employment opportunities, and integrate the diverse ethnic groups (Todaro 1989:331). By the 1960s Peru had become clearly divided into a modernised coastal area and a huge Andean region with a large indigenous population which was still largely living and working within a semi-feudal economy where "the Indian peasants continued to live or die without anyone paying heed to their destitution" (Bourricaud 1970:13). The Amazon region barely featured in the national consciousness. However, this was soon to change through government propaganda designed to foster colonisation of the Amazon and relieve demographic pressure on resources in the coastal and Andean regions.

Religious Missions and Indigenous Education

Meanwhile education for the indigenous peoples of the Amazon was predominantly in the hands of foreign missionary organisations and in particular the North American Protestant organisation, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL)[3]. By the 1950s SIL was working in close

alignment with the aims and recommendations of the Interamerican Indigenist Institute by encouraging the indigenous peoples to take part in their countries' economic development, a task accomplished through education and training programmes for the:

> economic development of their communities through native crafts, transportation, cattle-raising and agriculture, and fostering a general spirit of co-operation with the tribal communities (Loos et al. 1981:382).

In 1953, SIL was given full administrative control over bilingual education in the Peruvian Amazon under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and was soon announcing that "after a few years of bilingual education, more has been accomplished toward the integration of the jungle ethnic groups into the Peruvian system than has been accomplished in decades" (Larson 1981). However, SIL has met with fierce criticism from across the political spectrum because of a tendency to obscure its Christian missionary work with its linguistic objectives. As Hvalkov and Aaby (1981:14) point out, SIL is the world's largest Protestant mission society and through its use of the native language and creation of an indigenous elite, it represents a modernised form of cultural imperialism.

The Catholic Church struggled against the indigenistas from the beginning of the century and what it saw as democratic, levelling and revolutionary trends which could destabilise the hierarchical social order and gradually secularise society (Pike 1973). The indigenismo of the 1920s, with its left wing and Marxist links, was anti-clerical. Foreign Catholic missionary orders espoused different evangelising schemes, ranging from those designed to assimilate indigenous peoples completely into a form of Christian civilisation (such as the Dominicans), to others (such as the Hermanitos and Hermanitas of Jesus, founded in the 1930s) whose work is described as decolonising and

anticipating the trends which resulted in the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s (Shapiro 1988). Examples of both of these evangelising tendencies are found in Peru and the former was predominant in the Southern Peruvian Amazon where the Dominicans established and run a school system (RESSOP) and have a much greater presence than SIL (as is discussed in the next chapter).

After the Second World War, Catholicism in Latin America found itself increasingly divided between, on the one side, innovators who stressed the role of the individual's conscience in attaining salvation and, on the other side, the traditionalists who clung to the need for "paternalistic solicitude and the supernatural powers of the priesthood to ensure redemption for the masses" (Pike op.cit.:144). It was only with structural changes and the beginning of discussion about new theological concepts, which took place in the Catholic Church during the 1960s, that evangelisation began to be framed within a context of social problems culminating with the Conference of Latin American Bishops at Medellin in 1968. There the Bishops confirmed a new style of Christian theology based on active participation in the lives and struggles of the urban and rural poor and the Theology of Liberation was given recognition (Bruno-Jofre 1985). This Popular Culture Movement brought together theologians concerned with the social practices of the people on the margins of capitalism and an educational practice, referred to loosely as 'popular education', was designed to help the people lift themselves from the social and economic oppression of their position and encourage them to perceive the social, political and economic contradictions in which they live (Freire 1972:15)[4].

Education and Cultural Pluralism

The debates engendered by liberation theologians, popular educators and Marxists philosophers respectively, questioned the ability of formal education to integrate indigenous populations into the nation state. Mariátegui, writing in the 1920s, challenged the claims made for education, and in particular literacy, by national governments:

> Indian illiteracy is a problem... which goes beyond the strictly pedagogical. It is increasingly possible to verify that to be literate is not to be educated. The elementary school does not morally and socially redeem the Indian. The first step towards his redemption has to be the abolition of his servility (Mariátegui cited in Tauro 1970:14).

However, Mariátegui, who was very influential for the political left in Latin America, considered indigenous peoples as part of a peasant class. Similarly, the 'Theology of Liberation' has been criticised for subordinating indigenous ethnic identity to considerations of social class (e.g. Suess 1982). Today indigenous peoples' claims for rights based on their ethnic identity are still often viewed from a Marxist perspective as divisory (Tumiri 1985).

Bonfil, a Mexican anthropologist, was an influential critic of indigenismo in the 1960s. He attacked it and the political left, pointing out that, in stratified national societies, it is not satisfactory to consider indigenous peoples in terms of one sub-culture in a larger more complex national culture. Instead, he distinguished between peoples exploited within the dominant society (what he calls 'cultures of class') but who only have alternatives within the national system, and indigenous peoples who have alternatives outside of this system. The latter do not define their legitimacy in terms of the national culture, but rather in their own distinct past and history of exploitation as indigenous people (Bonfil 1984:163). He believes that indigenous peoples are being denied their historic right to decide their

own destiny for themselves and that they should be able to exercise this right within a liberating thesis.

Dissatisfaction with theories of development and economic and social analyses prompted indigenous peoples to question their lack of recognition as original nationalities. At the same time expectations and demand for education and basic social services had increased enormously in the post war period throughout much of Latin America which overwhelmed even the most paternalistic and indigenist governments (Pike op. cit.). Through the 1960s and early 1970s indigenismo came under attack through much of America from oppressed peoples concerned with the recognition of certain fundamental rights such as indigenous rights, minority rights and civil rights. At the root of the unrest was a questioning of the real nature of the integration which served primarily the interests of the national society and its concern with national identity (see Nolasco 1984).

Mexico led the way in responding to demands by the indigenous population for an education which took into account indigenous languages by making bilingual education official in 1964. Nevertheless, its aims remained integrationist and geared towards teaching Spanish at the earliest appropriate opportunity. Other countries, such as Guatemala, Ecuador and Bolivia trailed far behind with educational legislation in favour of its indigenous population. In Peru in the 1970s, however, a far-reaching education reform took place which tried to address fundamental rights for all the Peruvian population. Though it was relatively short lived, it had important ramifications for indigenous rights and indigenous education and, in this respect, it established important antecedents for subsequent developments in intercultural education.

The Peruvian Education Reform of 1972 was only one of a whole range of fundamental reforms begun by President Velasco[5]. The Education Reform signified the beginning of a move away from a crude policy of economic and social assimilation for indigenous peoples to one of integration into a multicultural and plurilingual Peruvian state. There was a shift in focus for bilingual education from mother-tongue teaching as a bridge to Spanish (a transitional policy), to mother-tongue teaching as means for maintaining and strengthening indigenous language and culture (a maintenance or enrichment policy, see Chapter 8).

The Education Reform was intended to promote a new ethos of learning with an orientation towards self-criticism, creativity and co-operation and a new institutional structure. In 1975 Quechua was declared an official language with equal status to Spanish and an Office of Bilingual Education was established within the Ministry of Education. While it left the status of the other approximately 56 languages of Peru uncertain[6], the officialisation of Quechua and the Education Reform together signified a new approach to education for the indigenous population:

> Bilingual education is not interpreted as merely an educational system to teach Spanish using the vernacular language, but rather it explicitly tries to conceive the task as an education which is bilingual and bicultural, in such a way that this educational activity is one of the ways of recognising the plurilingual and multicultural reality of the country with the aim of revaluing the minority languages and cultures (Escobar 1983:334).

The legislation which Velasco passed in favour of communal property rights for indigenous peoples was an important recognition of the multicultural state. It distinguished between the indigenous (majority) peoples of the Andean region, 'campesinos', and the indigenous peoples of the Amazon, 'nativos', who received recognition of their territorial rights through the Law of Native Communities of 1974,

revised in 1978 in Decree Law 22175.

However, many of the objectives and goals of the Reform never saw the light of day. The Velasco Revolutionary Government was quietly replaced in a bloodless coup in 1975. In 1980, the election of a right wing democratic government in Peru signified a reversal of the Education Reform and the return of the education system to its former structure of Primary, Secondary and Higher education. Today the first two grades of secondary school follow a common curriculum but the last three years divide into five distinct tracks: agricultural, artisan, commercial and humanistic. Other moves to 'reform the Reform' included a return to investing in secondary and tertiary education at the expense of primary.

The 1979 Constitution reflected a very superficial conception of culture and a general reference to the "right of every person to education and culture" (Article 21). With respect to language rights, Article 35 says that the state promotes the study and knowledge of aboriginal languages and guarantees the right of the Quechua, Aymara and other native communities to receive education in their own language or tongue. While Article 83 establishes Spanish as the official language, Quechua and Aymara are recognised only in the regions where they are used and the indigenous peoples of the Amazon, who comprise 12 major language families, receive only passing mention as belonging to the "cultural heritage of the nation" (Constitution of Peru, 1979). Together with parallel changes in the educational legislation, the 1980s saw the dismantling of the "most audacious and radical reform" (see Barrantes 1990:9) and a return to integrationist-oriented government education policy. Education in the 1980s has been characterised by an increasing institutional rigidity and real expansion of educational coverage has not been accompanied by efficient modernisation of administration, educational norms or mechanisms of communication between distinct parts

of the education system (Tovar 1993:122).

In 1979, UNESCO launched a new initiative, the 'Major Project', to try to address some of the glaring problems in education in Latin America and the Caribbean Region, such as unequal access, low achievement rates and high wastage in basic education (Rodriguez et al. 1983). The Major Project was formulated in terms of three objectives and sought an explicit compromise from each national government in the Region to do something towards achieving these objectives:

> - Ensure a minimum of 8 to 10 years schooling for all children of school age before 1999.
> - Eliminate illiteracy before the end of the century and develop and increase educational services for adults.
> - Improve the quality and the efficiency of the educational systems through the necessary reforms (Rodriguez et al. op. cit.:XII).

With respect to Peru for the period 1984-1986, the Major Project country profile notes that the paucity of resources has had unfavourable repercussions specially in the expansion of the educational infrastructure (UNESCO/OREALC 1990a:304). The Major Project also made recommendations for the expansion of pre-school education (which, as is discussed in Chapter 4, was adopted uncritically by RESSOP) (UNESCO/OREALC 1989:13).

The UNESCO Regional office has taken an active role in helping governments to reach these objectives through seminars, workshops and courses at the regional and sub-regional levels. The 'Technical Seminar on the 'Policies and Strategies for Education and Literacy in Indigenous Populations' held in Oaxaca, Mexico, in 1982 was important in that it widened the perspective of the Major Project on indigenous education. It recognised the possibility of it becoming free from the "straightjacket of 'integration' and a single national culture and, instead, of adopting a linguistically, culturally and ethnically plural character" (Quintanilla and Lozano 1983:XV).

The Oaxaca meeting related education to the decolonisation of indigenous peoples, considering that new forms of education for indigenous peoples, such as intercultural bilingual education, would have no meaning if they were not carried out as part of a process of cultural decolonisation which concerned the whole nation. It also condemned many current education practices among indigenous peoples as ethnocidal[7]. These moves reflected official awareness in many Latin American countries of demands which indigenous peoples had been making ever more forcefully throughout the 1960s and 1970s. However, despite official awareness, Peruvian education policy in the 1980s returned to its former integrationist approach.

Indigenous Education for and by Indigenous Peoples

Through the 1960s and 1970s indigenous peoples were becoming protagonists in defence of their own rights, including their rights to education. Throughout much of Central and South America indigenous peoples established their own organisations through which they could plan strategies for tackling problems of land sequestration, sacking of resources, unequal access to health and education services and infringements of rights to free cultural expression (see Gray 1989; Aikman 1990). The global political organisation of indigenous peoples did not campaign on a platform for rights to secede or even a desire to "ignore the majority culture" (Smolicz 1981:20) but instead for the right for indigenous peoples to determine their own self-development according to their own cultural values, communal rights and respect for the environment (see Gray 1994).

The emergence of indigenous organisations in Mexico in 1977 is particularly notable here because it was spearheaded by indigenous teachers and focused its indigenous demands on a critique of national

education policies. In 1981 this organisation, the National Alliance of Indigenous Bilingual Professionals (ANPIBAC), produced a position paper which laid out its determination to demystify the term 'bilingual-bicultural education'. It demanded that bilingual-bicultural education be empowering and aid the termination of exploitation, domination, racial and social discrimination and the political and economic manipulation which characterised the situation in indigenous regions (ANPIBAC 1981).

The position paper provides us with an important working definition of bilingual bicultural education as an education which is:

> Carried out by the indigenous peoples themselves, and serves to form and develop man and the community within his own cultural system and based in his concepts of the world and life. It always serves, in the last analysis, the acquisition of a conscious society which respects the environment and man and which ensures the existence of the family and the community, the interests of the group above those of the individual, and which works for the benefit of the collectivity and not for individual appropriation (ANPIBAC 1981:18).

It goes on to clarify that this education is bilingual in that:

> During the education process teaching is first in terms of talking, reading, writing and the linguistic and grammatical structure of each indigenous language and that after, or simultaneously, ...pupils will be taught...Spanish as a second language (ibid.).

It is bicultural in that:

> We should first of all teach and mature the indigenous culture in particular, and then the universal values of other cultures, that is, in the first instance the indigenous philosophy should be taught and afterwards other philosophical values; the objectives of the education should be determined by the indigenous peoples themselves; the contents of plans and programmes should be in terms of the indigenous culture and then in other cultures selected in order to help the development of the indigenous culture; and the methodology has to arise from consideration of the experience which we have had as a group and taken from other pedagogical advances which permit the bettering of our education without undermining our ethnic and cultural identity (ibid.).

This is the voice of indigenous learners and indigenous teachers stating what they want for themselves, rather than governments or indigenistas stating what they think indigenous people should have. It is an education based first and foremost in the cultural practices of the indigenous people, who have control over decision-making in terms of planning, curriculum content and methodology, all of which are founded in an indigenous philosophy and used according to indigenous objectives.

In Peru, parallel with these developments, indigenous organisations were being established to tackle problems of land and resources which were threatening the viability of indigenous communities. As the search for oil, timber and gold, extended deeper and deeper into the Peruvian Amazon, the indigenous Amazonian peoples began to organise themselves: in 1969 the Yanesha nation founded the Congress of Amuesha Communities and the Asháninka, Shipibo and Aguaruna-Huambisa formed their own organisations soon after. In 1979 these organisations came together to form a federation which became the Inter-Ethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Rainforest (AIDESEP).

Meanwhile, at the international level, indigenous peoples' rights, including rights to education, were beginning to be discussed. The Fourth Russell Tribunal on the 'Rights of the Indians of the Americas' was held in Rotterdam in 1980 and recommended that:

> Teachers and education in the Americas are called upon to live up to their professional responsibilities to bring to an end the anti-Indian character of the instruction in the schools attended by Indian Children (Recommendations of the 4th Russell Tribunal, in IWGIA 1981:89).

In 1982, after much pressuring by indigenous peoples, the Working Group on Indigenous Populations was set up under the UN Commission on Human Rights to "examine the policies, laws and practices of governments as well as the reactions and aspirations of indigenous peoples and thereby to formulate views on future improvements in relations between

indigenous populations and governments" (Eide, 1985:203). The Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples agreed upon by members of the Working Group at its Eleventh Session in 1993 states that:

> Indigenous children have the right to all levels and forms of education of the State. All indigenous peoples also have this right and the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning (Part IV, Article 15, E/CN.4/Sub.2/1993/29).

The international declaration on education by indigenous peoples in the 'Earth Charter', drawn up at the World Conference of Indigenous Peoples on Territory, Environment and Development which took place Kari-Oka in June 1992, was presented to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, the 'Earth Summit', in Rio de Janeiro:

> Indigenous peoples should have the right to their own knowledge, language and culturally appropriate education, including bicultural and bilingual education. Through recognising both formal and informal ways, the participation of family is guaranteed (Earth Charter, published in IWGIA 1992).

The UN Draft Declaration echoes the ANPIBAC definition for bilingual bicultural education, in its emphasis on the importance for indigenous people to control their own education. The Earth Charter emphasises another crucial component of this education - that it is intercultural (bicultural) and bilingual and provides skills for managing an effective interrelationship with the national society. The ANPIBAC definition stresses, moreover, that this intercultural or bicultural relationship must be for the good and maintenance of the indigenous culture, language and collective indigenous identity. The Indigenous Earth Charter makes specific reference to the informal 'ways' of indigenous peoples' own education which gives recognition to the important non-institutionalised educational processes within the indigenous society. For many indigenous peoples this 'informal'

education is the foundation of their learning and transmission of knowledge. Nevertheless, throughout Latin America it receives no official recognition.

Unlike Mexico, where indigenous organisations developed out of the early institutionalisation of indigenous education after the Revolution, Peruvian government recognition for indigenous demands for education has not been followed up with concrete initiatives. Instead, developments in intercultural bilingual education have taken place primarily outside of national educational institutions, though that is not to say without Ministry of Education approval. Moves by the Ministry of Education towards intercultural bilingual education, both de jure and de facto, have been slow and tentative. In the vacuum left after the dismantling of the Education Reform of 1972, independent and experimental projects flourished and the major developments have been in the hands of a small number of non-governmental organisations, religious missions, individual specialists and university departments often with foreign funding and foreign technical expertise (see Appendix A for an introduction to the most important initiatives in intercultural education in the Peruvian Amazon). The range of programmes and projects in intercultural bilingual education in Peru today reflects the heterogeneity of the people who control them and their divergent philosophies, ideologies and methodologies (these are discussed in Chapter 8; see also Appendix A).

Today there is a huge demand for intercultural bilingual education by indigenous peoples throughout the Peruvian Amazon, a demand that the Ministry of Education can no longer ignore. DIGEBIL has said that it intends to introduce intercultural bilingual education throughout the country and through all levels of the education system but to date the areas selected for experimentation are in the Andes where the number of mother-tongue speakers is large and there are only a few languages (in

contrast with the Amazon where the number of mother-tongue speakers is small and there is a great variety of languages). Furthermore, since 1993 bilingual teacher training is being offered at Ministry of Education training colleges ('Institutos Superiores Pedagógicos') throughout Peru.

The recognition of indigenous peoples as part of the state at the beginning of the 20th century has led to their gradual inclusion in the formal education structure. However, indigenous peoples have responded to and reacted against an inclusion which implies integration and where bilingual education is merely a means of facilitating the transition to monolingual Spanish education. Indigenous peoples want formal education to respect their languages and contribute towards their maintenance instead of their replacement by Spanish. Today, indigenous peoples also want an intercultural education which recognises their cultural distinctiveness, but not one which simply facilitates their transition to monocultural national education. To ensure this does happen indigenous peoples demand the right to control their education so that it can both reinforce their own culturally distinct ways of life and allow them to participate as citizens in their respective countries.

The next chapter looks at the historical and educational processes which the Harakmbut of the Madre de Dios region have experienced since their first sustained contact with wider Peruvian society in the 1950s and at how these experiences have shaped their educational demands today with regard to developing a "culturally appropriate education" (Earth Charter, in IWGIA op.cit.).

Footnotes

1. Indigenismo is used following the definition of Favre to mean any: "current of thought and ideas which is organised and developed around the image of the Indian. Indigenismo is presented as an inquiry into

'Indianidad' (Indian identity) by non-Indians following the preoccupations and aims of the latter" (Favre 1976, cited in Barre 1983:29-30).

2. By the 1940s indigenismo had become a continent-wide movement and the Interamerican Indigenist Institute (I.I.I.) was established and national indigenist institutes set up in several countries. For details of recommendations and declarations of the I.I.I. on its political and philosophical orientations see for example Aikman 1990 Chapter 2; Marzal 1986 and Stavenhagen 1988.

3. The policies and practices of SIL in Peru are discussed in more detail in Aikman, S. 1990, Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

4. For a discussion of Popular Education see Aikman 1990 Chapter 5; Ireland 1987; Kindervatten 1979; LaBelle 1986.

5. Velasco's 'Revolutionary Government' has been described as 'nationalist-modernising' (Stavenhagen 1988:326) and was influenced by ECLA's (Economic Commission for Latin America) development model and the marginality ideas of the modernisation school, as witnessed by the programme of far-reaching reforms and the ambitious programme of social participation aimed at the vast majority of the population (Tovar 1985; Churchill 1976; Smith 1979). There were also plans (which failed) to nationalise the work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in the Amazon and break the North American organisation's monopoly over indigenous bilingual education there (d'Ans 1981:162).

6. For details of the Education Reform and the status of Quechua and other indigenous languages see Bondy 1972 and Escobar et al.1975.

7. Other seminars followed Oaxaca, for example, in 1987 in Guatemala there was the Subregional Seminar on the Training of Indigenous Promoters in Central America and Panama (UNESCO/OREALC 1987). It considered the then large literature on linguistic and pedagogical considerations in the teaching of Spanish as a second language.

CHAPTER 3: FORMAL EDUCATION AND INDIGENOUS ORGANISATION IN THE MADRE DE DIOS

In comparison to the other Amazon regions, Madre de Dios is a backwater, economically, educationally and in terms of national development, infrastructure and social services. It has also remained outside of the sphere of the Shining Path guerillas and the cholera epidemic which began in 1990, both of which have claimed many lives in the Central Rainforest. In 1993, however, there was evidence that remote airfields are now being used for the trafficking of cocaine.

This chapter considers different education policies for the indigenous peoples of Madre de Dios which have been applied largely through the efforts of religious missions. It also considers the waves of immigration which have gathered momentum over the century and which today threaten the very existence of the indigenous peoples of Madre de Dios. It looks at the responses of the indigenous peoples, and in particular the Harakmbut, to immigration and colonisation and the influences of both the Dominicans and SIL with their distinct missionising and education strategies. These responses include the formation of the representative indigenous organisation, FENAMAD, through which the indigenous peoples can try to defend their territories and campaign for changes in formal education.

Madre de Dios - 'On the Margins of National Activity'

> Madre de Dios is an exotic rainforest land, for the most part not yet explored, which extends like a lost paradise of the most beautiful scenery in the South East of the country... if it were not for the self-sacrificing and determined labours of the Dominican missionaries for almost a century, Madre de Dios would comprise virgin forest and nomadic tribes. Literally forgotten by the Spanish Colony and the Republic, buried between its immense rivers and solemn and dense forests, Madre de Dios still exists almost

> on the margins of national activity, constituting one of the most backward zones in the country (Documental del Peru Vol XXI:3).

These opening words to the volume on Madre de Dios of the National Basic Encyclopedia of Peru provide a tantalising picture of the region. What does this lost paradise comprise if, thanks to the dedication of Spanish missionaries, it is no longer virgin forest and nomadic tribes? The answer awaits in the next paragraph:

> But once the Peruvian Creole population remembered about Madre de Dios, a violent, cruel and migratory exploitation of rubber and alluvial gold converted its forests into merchandise at gunpoint and through terror (ibid.).

The first records of the area and its inhabitants come from the journals of Spanish explorers in search of 'El Dorado' and 'Paititi', thought by some to have been the refuge of the last Incas and their captains located somewhere over the border in present day Bolivia (Larrabure i Correa 1907). Both the archaeological record and Harakmbut mythology provide evidence for trade between the Andean highlands and rainforest in medicinal plants, feathers, honey, and other goods which were exchanged for objects of metal. Today bronze axes of pre-Colombian style are still occasionally found on beaches or in the forest (Aikman 1982).

Nevertheless, the physical characteristics of Madre de Dios, with its precipitous Andean slopes and dense forest, ensured the indigenous inhabitants a relatively undisturbed existence until the end of the 19th century when the integrity of the rainforest and the indigenous lifestyle was cruelly disrupted by a period of rubber extraction. Until the collapse of the international market in rubber in the second decade of the 20th century, Madre de Dios felt the full impact of economic penetration and exploitation. Rubber tappers first entered the Madre de Dios area from Brazil and Bolivia, rounding up slaves and bringing

diseases. Of the Harakmbut peoples, the Toyeri were almost wiped out and the Sapiteri reduced to a small fraction of their former numbers. Many Arasaeri and Ese'eja, whose territory stretched from the Inambari and Tambopata rivers downstream to the border and into Bolivia, were taken to Bolivia as slaves where they fetched a higher market price than in Peru (Wahl 1987:194). By 1905 the total number of Arasaeri was estimated at 500-800 (ibid.), while today there are approximately 56.

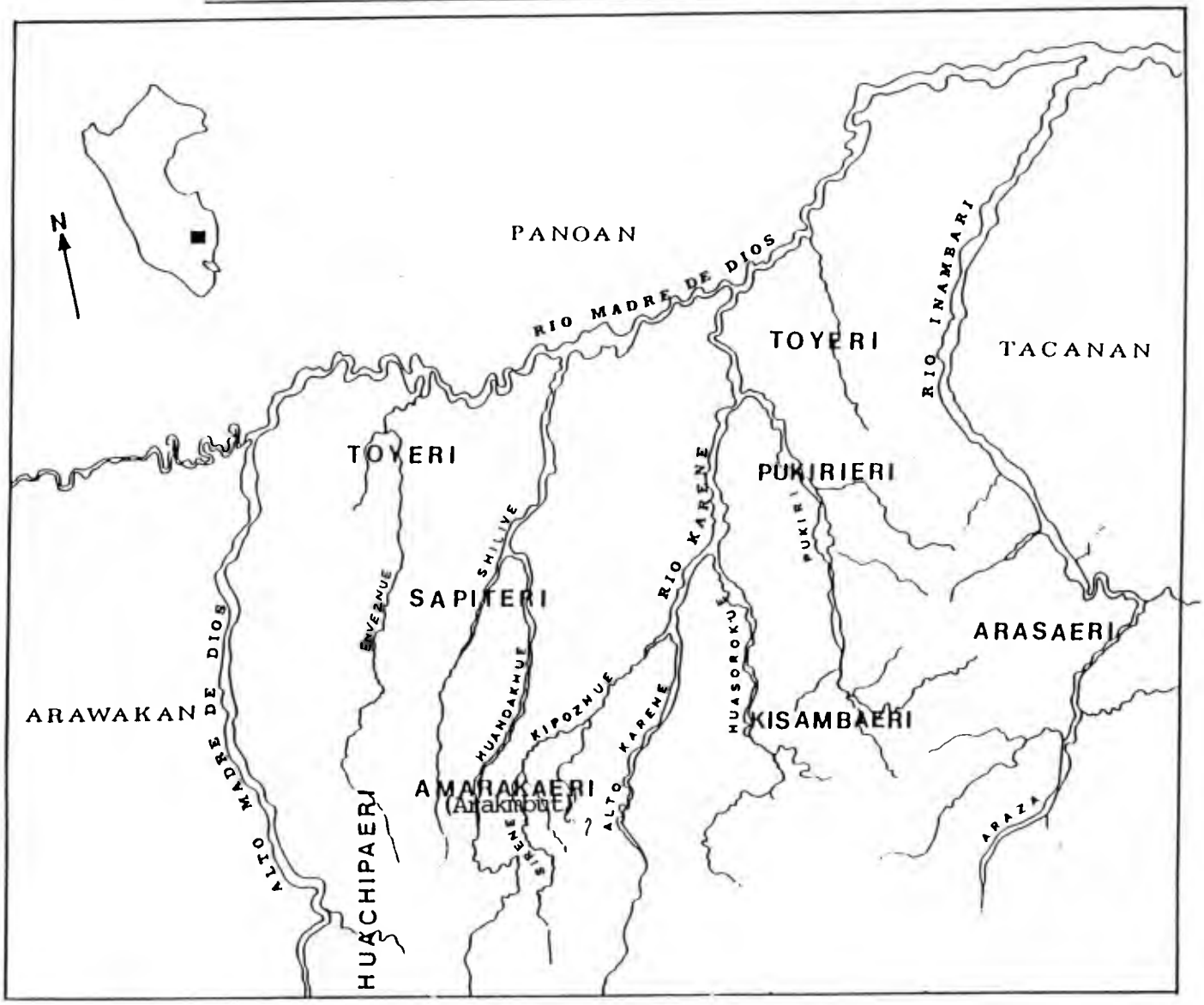
At this time the Arakmbut lived in comparative isolation from the rubber economy in the headwaters of the Karene and Isiriwe (Shilive) rivers. However, to escape the turbulent events centring around the Madre de Dios, Inambari and Alto Madre de Dios rivers, many of the other Harakmbut peoples, such as the Sapiteri, fled to the headwaters. There the Harakmbut groups were forced into close contact with each other and traditional enmities led to bitter fighting over hunting and fishing grounds, new and prized western goods and over raids for women among groups whose numbers had been seriously diminished (see Map 4).

The Harakmbut are estimated to have been reduced by about 90 to 95 per cent over the last one hundred years (Gray 1983:11). At the turn of the twentieth century, a very conservative estimate put the Harakmbut population at between 11,000 and 14,000 (von Hassel 1905). A recent census puts the entire indigenous population for Madre de Dios at 4,000 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 1983:vi in Wahl ibid.:192).

An Arakmbut View of the World

The Arakmbut of San José have three long myths - Wanamey, Marinke and Aiwe - which they say provide an insight into their social life, their culture and their contact and relations with non-indigenous people, respectively (Gray 1986:26). We will look briefly at these myths and the aspects of Arakmbut life and culture which they illustrate in

MAP 4: The Traditional Distribution of the Harakmbut



order to form an understanding of the distinctive Arakmbut view of the world. In the 1950s this Arakmbut way of life came into contact with the Dominican Catholic Church and the Peruvian state.

Wanamey is the Arakmbut myth about the beginning of time when order was created out of chaos. Wanamey is a huge tree which arose out of the ground when a fireflood covered the earth and destroyed everything. The Arakmbut found shelter in the tree which provided for them and, after the fireflood receded and the tree disappeared, a woodpecker ('mbegnko') introduces them to their distinctly Arakmbut world.

The woodpecker provides the forest and names the rivers in which the Arakmbut can find animals, such as tapir and peccary, and fish as well fertile land which can be cleared to grow crops of manioc, plantains and sugar cane. The woodpecker steals fire from the invisible world of the spirits and gives it to the Arakmbut so that they can cook their food. The Arakmbut then divide into seven clans (onyu) and they leave the tree to go down river to find places to make their communal houses, fish, hunt and to make axes with which to clear gardens.

The Arakmbut clans are exogamous and patrilineal and each Arakmbut belongs to a clan, the same clan as his/her father. Members of the same clan are related as parts of a whole, because each child is made from the accumulated semen of its father and his clan line, yet each individual is differentiated from the others because the mother's womb has moulded each child's specific appearance. Political alliances in a community are often organised along clan lines whereby an extended family of brothers and their wives will work and live closely together and share meat from a hunt between them.

People from different clans view their world from different angles according to their clan's particular relationship with a forest or river

species and because of a sense of solidarity between clan members based on their common ancestry traced back to the time of the Wanamey tree. The clan is important for structuring social relations and politics in a community.

However, Arakmbut social life is also organised around a person's kin ('wambet'). Each person has a wambet which comprises all the close relatives of one's father and mother, though not one's wife's family. The wambet therefore cuts across clan boundaries and provides an intermediary between the clan and the household. The household, kin and clan comprise the group of people with whom a person has close daily contact.

Gender is a fundamental aspect of the division of labour among the Arakmbut, and men and women participate in activities such as food production, preparation and consumption in a complementary way (Aikman n.d.). Women plant and tend the swidden gardens and cook the food which the men bring from the forest or the river. The women's ability and role in transforming raw meat, which is potentially dangerous because of the animal spirit matter which it contains, into food which sustains and nurtures the household is crucial because food is also considered vital for growth and building up of a person's physical and spiritual identity (this will be considered in more detail in Chapter 6).

According to Gray (1983) the Arakmbut liken time to the passing of a river, flowing from past to future. However, there are also categories of time, such as days, months, seasons, which divide this flow into repeated cycles. The life cycle for an individual is a lineal growth which takes a person on a specific journey from birth to death, yet at the same time it is the cyclical flow of the clan from generation to generation.

The second Arakmbut myth, Marinke, is concerned with the life of

the culture hero, Marinke, from conception to his escape from the visible world where jaguars chase him to the sky. It is a myth about growth and follows Marinke's life from a baby to a boy ('wasipo') when he accompanies his grandmother to the garden ('tamba'). As he grows more and becomes a young man ('wambo'), he ventures further from the community and the security of his home. He becomes more independent and responsible until he reaches manhood ('wambokerek'). Then he is capable of hunting and forming relations with animals and spirits (cf. Chapter 6).

The myth tells how Marinke goes out to hunt the jaguars but carnivorous animals such as jaguars are dangerous, and he relies on the help of non-carnivorous animals to keep him alive. As a person grows old he/she becomes weaker and their 'soul matter' ('nokiren') is attracted to the afterworld; if the death is normal it disperses to a world beneath the river, but if the death is abnormal (as a result of violence or illness) then it remains concentrated and goes to an afterlife in the forest from where it returns to plague the living (Gray op. cit.:30).

For the Arakmbut, the invisible world of the spirits is no less 'real' than the visible world and different people experience it as the same providing they have the capacity to understand and interpret correctly what they see and do (Gray forthcoming:84). A curer ('wamanoka'eri') is someone who can diagnose which spirit is attacking a sick person and cure that person by luring the spirit away. Dreams are important shamanic practices among the Arakmbut. Everyone can dream but not everyone can listen to messages and carry on conversations with spirits. A 'dreamer' ('wayorokeri') is someone who has developed the art of dreaming and can travel throughout the invisible world conversing with the spirits and seeking advice (Gray ibid:90). The spiritual dimension to the Arakmbut universe is ever present.

These two myths illustrate the way in which the Arakmbut conceptualise how people relate to each other and to the universe. This view of the world and the Arakmbut's position within it underlies every aspect of their life. It emphasises a coherence and unity of knowledge. As Teasdale notes for other hunter-gatherer societies, existence is based on principles of co-operation and co-existence both with the natural world and other people (Teasdale 1993).

The third myth, Aiwe (Papas), is concerned with the Arakmbut's relations with the non-Arakmbut world of 'Amiko'. The Papas are cannibals who dress in white, carry machetes, attack the Arakmbut and capture their children. Versions of this myth from different Harakmbut communities link the Papas with different groups of colonisers in the past: Incas, Spaniards and rubber exploiters at the turn of the century. Today the 'Amiko' in Madre de Dios are the gold panners and patrons with whom the Arakmbut have ambivalent relations, though not always hostile. The Harakmbut therefore do not consider all strangers dangerous but, "as with the Papa myth, can sometimes seek advice, support and enter into friendly relations with them" (Gray 1986:33). This attitude attracted the Arakmbut to the Dominican missionaries as disease and fighting sapped their strength and independence from the non-indigenous world, and ultimately threatened the cosmological balance between the visible and invisible world.

A 'Civilising Mission' among the Indigenous Peoples of Madre de Dios

The period of intense exploitation and economic activity in Madre de Dios at the turn of the 20th century coincided with a wave of missionary zeal. The government was concerned to incorporate the native peoples of the Amazon into the nation state but, as it did not have the resources to set about doing so itself, gave Catholic missionaries the

freedom to carry out pacification and civilising programmes using foreign funding and support (Wahl 1987:119-120). In 1900, the Catholic church established three new ecclesiastical divisions of the rainforest, one of which was Madre de Dios entrusted to the Dominican Order. Predominantly foreigners backed by their religious orders, these missionaries were inspired by a new ecclesiastical indigenismo which had three main orientations: to incorporate the Indians into the nation, to integrate them but respecting their cultural 'peculiarities' and to liberate them from cultural domination (Marzal 1986:495).

The Spanish Dominicans' proselytising policy clearly fell into the first orientation with their fervour to convert the indigenous people to Christianity, release them from their marginalisation and through medical and educational centres help them shed their 'savagery'. This they did through processes designed at protection, pacification, and 'directed acculturation' of the Indians (Junquera 1978). Following a philosophy which later blended well into the thinking of their subsequent mentor, General Franco, they allied themselves closely with the State in a policy of "civilising by the Church to be of service to the State" (pers. comm. M. Fernandez 14.6.92).

At the height of the rubber boom in Madre de Dios, the Dominicans created the 'Prefectura Apostólica de Santa Domingo del Urubamba'. In 1910 they established the mission of San Jacinto in Puerto Maldonado, the recently created capital of the new Department of Madre de Dios, and three years later were granted the status of Apostolic Diocese of the Urubamba and Madre de Dios.

Through the 1920s and 1930s the missionaries, in particular Padre José Alvarez, made long and arduous treks through the Diocese in a quest to make peaceful contact with the indigenous peoples and bring them into the fold of the Church. José Alvarez led expeditions to the territory of

the now much reduced Ese'eja (then called Huarayos) and then turned his attention to the Arasaeri and Iñaparis and ultimately the 'Mashcos' (Arakmbut) whose ferocity and bellicose nature was part of the history and myth of the region.

Over the 1940s Alvarez made several unsuccessful attempts to contact "these contemptible Amarakairis [but] I met with only insults and indignities" (Alvarez, cited in Junquera 1978:80). However, in the early 1950s he was more successful, as the Arakmbut, worn down by internal fighting and epidemics of yellow fever, allowed him to approach them in the headwaters of the Isiriwe and Enveznue rivers. One of the old Arakmbut from the community of San José remembers these first meetings:

> One day some of the old people were on a beach toasting maize while others had gone to look for catfish. Some Taka (non-Arakmbut) arrived and the Arakmbut were afraid and wanted to shoot them with their arrows. One Amiko, who was Padre Alvarez, shouted at them not to shoot and he would give them a machete. This made the Arakmbut happy. Mariotakis took the machete upstream and divided it into small pieces for making arrows. He gave a piece to each family and he kept the handle (as told by Ireyo, San José, 2.3.92).

Alvarez had completed the first important process in the missionising of the Arakmbut: pacification. He decided that for their protection there must be a new mission in the Alto Madre de Dios which would facilitate easier access for the missionaries to the Arakmbut, and ultimately an exit route for the Arakmbut to a new civilised and settled life. The mission station of Palotoa was opened in 1954 and a wide path cut to allow the first Arakmbut to arrive. After flooding, the mission was re-established at the mouth of the Shintuya river in 1957 and many Arakmbut made their way there in search of relief from yellow fever, leaving behind their communal houses ('malocas') in different rivers[1]. There were also Wachipaeri living in Shintuya.

Dominican Boarding School as the 'Happy Hearth'

The Dominicans were responsible for the first school in Madre de Dios which was an important part of their mission at the mouth of the Manu river. The mission was set up in 1908 to cater for not only the children of "savages" but to provide educational facilities for the children of the rubber bosses ('patrones'), some of whom put money into building the mission (Alvarez 1964:29). A Dominican mission comprised a chapel, school, a house for boarding the students and gardens. Monsignor Zubieta, the first Bishop, was concerned with the abuse of the native peoples at the hands of the rubber barons and wanted special laws which would enforce free primary schooling for children so that: "the savage could be ...more than just a work tool.. but be competent to go out and form families and civilised Christian communities (cited in Alvarez ibid.). Consequently, he considered schools to be an integral part of the national scheme to bring development and progress to Madre de Dios.

This broad concept of their mission as encompassing not only the religious, but the social, cultural and moral lives of the indigenous people was the Dominican justification for trying to attain their objective of the 'civilised native'. This entails a process of 'de-education' consisting of unlearning and eradicating indigenous values and beliefs, and a 're-education' and learning of all the beliefs and values that the Missionaries considered essential. The Dominicans controlled all aspects of the process and not only dictated the methodology but defined the concept of civilisation. A 'civilised native' was one who acquired, and subsequently displayed, a specific series of characteristics. This began by changing the most tangible and material aspects of their lives and worked towards the "spiritual conquest of souls" (Wahl op. cit.:151).

- First of all the native should cover up his/her nakedness with clothes, because "man always adopts an internal attitude which corresponds with his exterior" (Osende 1933:230). Arakmbut men and women were not naked from their own perspective but were carefully painted in black and red dye with symbols representing their position within their society, and the men had facial perforations signifying their age grade. The women wore skirts made from beaten and softened tree bark tied around their waists. The missionaries' first act was to hand out clothes.

- The civilised native should live a sedentary existence in an established settlement. Shintuya was planned in order to settle the Arakmbut and on arrival they were encouraged to build small nuclear family-sized huts. Formerly the majority of Arakmbut lived in communal long houses ('haktone', maloca). Inside the maloca families had partitioned sleeping and eating quarters arranged spatially within the house according to seniority, while the unmarried men slept together near the centre which was also a focus for rituals and ceremonies. In order to obtain optimum use of the resources within their territory the Arakmbut practised a highly mobile lifestyle. However at Shintuya this was actively discouraged. The Arakmbut remember one Padre in particular, who would go after any individuals or groups of Arakmbut, who left the mission without his permission and bring them back in his canoe.

- The language of communication should be Spanish "because the savage language closes the soul to the light" and "prevents him from entering fully into civilisation, religion and the life of the nation" (Sarasola 1931). After initial contact was made with the Arakmbut, mostly through Wachipaeri translators, the missionaries' main aim was that they learn Spanish.

- In keeping with a sedentary life the civilised native should become an agriculturalist, ideally following the Iberian Peninsular model of land use and animal husbandry. The Arakmbut were actively encouraged to work for the missionaries in the fields and, in return for their labour, received goods and foodstuffs. Though the Arakmbut traditionally grew a wide diversity of crops and types including maize, manioc and plantains, as well as fruit, the missionaries tried to impose the cultivation of cash crops such as coffee and the production of other marketable resources such as timber and cattle.

- The natives should cast aside their sinful and immoral ways and heathen beliefs and embrace the true faith in a spirit of obedience and unquestioning belief[2]. The missionaries stopped any outwards signs of non-Christian practices and beliefs, such as the 'e'ohtokoy' and 'e'paimpak' age grade ceremonies (see chapter 6). Dancing and drinking were discouraged. The Arakmbut were told that their own spiritual beliefs were blasphemous and their ways sinful and that they must come to obey not only God but his representatives on earth (Wahl op cit.:153).

The Dominicans' methods were coercive and authoritative. Adults were rounded up and made to go to Church, sometimes under threat of a beating. The Arakmbut had arrived at Shintuya mission expecting more of the 'gifts' the missionaries had given them freely in the forest only to find that such gifts were now only given to those who displayed missionary sanctioned behaviour. The Arakmbut were faced with pressures to change from all sides.

The missionaries' task with children was more of 'educating' than 'de-educating' or 're-educating'. The savage was considered to be "made not born" (Osende op. cit:228) thus the possibilities of thwarting the development of savagery and instilling a strong sense of obedience was

in the hands of the missionary-teacher in the formal school setting. In schools the children of 'savages' were noted to mix well with civilised children, to play together and in all their attitudes and outward displays to be the same as the civilised. But:

> Left to their own devices native children would mimic the behaviour and model of their parents, which was arrogant, solitary, wild and fierce and that was the way the children became too. Their mothers trained them in the brutal struggle between life and death, which they instilled with violence in their entrails. The savage has no other teacher than fear. Through this they learn to kill without compassion and die without preoccupation (Osende op. cit.:229).

For this project of moulding children to become civilised rather than 'savage' the Dominicans found that boarding school had particular advantages over day school, one of the most important being as a form of security to stop the parents leaving the mission (pers. comm. M. Fernandez 15.6.92). At the same time interning children in the mission removed them from the sphere of influence of their 'savage' parents, though there was resistance to this policy from parents (and orphans were the preferred candidates, of which there were many in the early years in Shintuya).

The internment system was promoted because:

> in a more comfortable and healthy environment, with more balanced nutrition, the performance of the pupils is much greater and the range of activities can be much broader. The techniques of agriculture, stock raising unfold more easily (Valentin 1964:13).

For girls the curriculum was somewhat different although an education based in the principles of Christianity was fundamental to all. Both sexes received instruction in areas "common to all cultures" (Sarasola op.cit.:1) such as reading, writing, arithmetic, national geography, history and the elemental notions of urbanity, that is courtesy and polished manners. A girl, however, needed to be simple of speech, modest of gaze, discrete in her actions and always quick to

serve help and thank. Of a more practical nature she should be taught how to tend vegetable gardens, to keep chickens, to cut up meat and keep the flies off, about cleanliness and presentation in cooking and how to make clothes for all the family - in short to "create a woman who can make and prevail over the happiness of a modest and honourable family" (Sarasola op. cit.).

The extent to which the missionaries and teachers could succeed in this civilising task was questioned as missionaries found that indigenous students turned their backs on their learning and urbanity as they approached adolescence. Osende notes that "from the age of 12 to 15 the young savage ends his learning and looks towards the forest and what it has to offer while the civilised child looks towards the city and they do not recognise each other any more (Osende op. cit.:229).

Promising young Harakmbut orphans (though in Harakmbut terms not without family), were selected to go to the Dominican boarding school at Quillabamba in the foothills of the Andes for their primary education and in the 1960s another mission boarding school was opened in Sepahua in the Lower Urubamba. The missionaries believed that:

> for many of them, being boarders is the only love which lights up their lives; the school is their happy hearth; for them all it is, together with the school and their work, the torch and beacon of their lives (Alvarez 1964:14).

By the 1960s the Dominicans were no longer talking in terms of 'civilising the savages' but rather of producing Peruvian citizens and:

> to leave the footprints of progress and open the doors of culture for those who are lacking everything in terms of integration into national and universal harmony (Valentin op. cit.:10).

Shintuya brought together between 300 and 400 Harakmbut in one large settlement. It also brought problems unforeseen by both priests and Harakmbut. Hitherto hostile relations between Arakmbut and Wachipaeri were aggravated by their close proximity and the continuing

deaths from what the indigenous peoples believed was 'witchcraft' and which the missionaries believed was yellow fever, influenza and measles. The large population became a pressure on the natural resources and hunters had to go far to find game, while the productivity of their gardens decreased (Moore 1981). Health and nutrition began to suffer and inter-group conflict increased. Life became intolerable for many at Shintuya and throughout the 1960s and 1970s groups left and formed the communities of San José del Karene, Boca del Inambari, Barranco Chico and Puerto Luz (though not all members of this group of Arakmbut had come to Shintuya).

Some of the missionaries interpreted the dissolution of Shintuya as the Arakmbut's rejection of civilisation and their preference for a 'backward' way of life (Torralba 1979). However, Torralba, Dominican priest and anthropologist, rejects this explanation, arguing that the mission had been a static phenomenon, unchanging in the face of change not only from the outside but from the indigenous peoples. A study carried out in 1977 of the structural changes in the mission suggested that the Arakmbut left because the sedentary and constricted life was strangling their society and extinguishing many of their ways so that their society could not reproduce (ibid).

Institutionalising Schooling: Dominicans versus Protestants

It was not until 1948-49 that the Ministry of Education expanded its provision of schooling to the rural population beyond the towns of Puerto Maldonado and Salvación in the Upper Madre de Dios. Nevertheless, the majority of the indigenous population living outside of the sphere of the Dominicans continued without any schooling. In order to cater for the Matsigenka communities in the Upper Urubamba region, the Dominicans founded a new organisation for secular missionaries, the Asociación de

Misioneros Seglares de Puerto Maldonado (MISEMA) in 1953. They worked as the Mobile Group for Fundamental Education in the Rainforest (Grupo Móvil de Educación Fundamental de la Selva) and signed an agreement with the Ministry of Education which allowed it to set up as a rival organisation to the Summer Institute of Linguistics whose influence was blossoming and whose bilingual schools were increasing throughout much of the Central and Northern Rainforest. By 1963 the Mobile Group attended some 2,000 children and adults and congratulated themselves thinking of how:

> the fathers of many of their pupils had been head hunters while today, in magnificent contrast, they can proudly display their official certificates as teachers and experts in different areas. And furthermore there is an infinite number of people who, without certificates, have obtained the mark of civilisation in a way which no one could have imagined 50 years ago...educating the children of the rainforest is a difficult task but it also gives us pride to see how 'our tribes' are progressing (Misiones Dominicanas n.d.).

In 1971, the Dominican School Network (RESSOP) was created out of the Mobile Group in an agreement signed between the Ministry of Education and the Diocese of Puerto Maldonado which gave official recognition to schools run by the Diocese. The teachers, however, became employees of the Ministry of Education from whence they received their salary. The existence of RESSOP permitted the Dominicans to devolve power over the 'escaped' and newly formed Arakmbut communities to lay-missionary teachers. The teachers took charge of not only the primary schools, but pastoral care and basic health care, while the missionaries themselves made only occasional visits to hold mass and Christen babies (see Chapter 4).

Meanwhile the Arakmbut community of Puerto Alegre (which relocated downstream in 1975 and changed its name to Puerto Luz) was receiving the attentions of a Summer Institute of Linguistics. Moore provides an

analysis of the situation in Puerto Alegre during the early 1970s when a SIL linguist/missionary tried to establish a bilingual primary school for the community. Moore notes that this missionary lived "unostentatiously and tried to preserve the social organisation of the community, reinforce clan awareness and respect the indigenous language" (Moore op. cit.:138).

According to these characteristics, the method of the SIL missionary, working in a very isolated situation, contrasts sharply with the Dominican civilising project among the Harakmbut. However, Moore notes that the most significant role of SIL in the ethnocidal process has been through ideological change and confusion from Christian doctrines that are difficult to relate to Arakmbut beliefs. The SIL missionary's presence has imbued a sense of individualism and competition among members of the same clan, introduced a money economy and he frowned upon drinking masato beer (ibid.).

In 1973 the bilingual school was opened, run by a native teacher from the community who had previously attended Dominican primary school in Shintuya and knew some Spanish. The teacher, who was paid by the Ministry of Education via SIL, held school each weekday morning throughout the Peruvian school year and focused on teaching the fundamentals of reading, writing and arithmetic in and through the Harakmbut language.

The relation between the SIL linguist and indigenous teacher followed the SIL pattern: SIL flew individuals to its base in Yarinacocha to attend summer school and further or complete their primary education. While there they worked with the linguist/missionary on the language and made language materials for the school for a small salary. The prospective teacher was also often the missionary's main language informant and worked intensively with him on bible translation.

The language primers produced for Puerto Alegre school in the Harakmbut language, also followed a SIL pattern of bilingual school publications which had Ministry of Education approval (see Appendix B). However, they did not meet with resounding approval from the members of Puerto Alegre and the bilingual school itself was only short lived.

Larson, a SIL linguist/missionary, propounds the SIL philosophy of the benefits of a bilingual education and assumes that mother tongue teaching would be well received because the teacher "spoke their vernacular and was probably their relative" and the children "could read to their parents and be understood" (1981:25). However, the schooled ways which the bilingual teacher and trainees acquired during their training at Yarinacocha made them unpopular with the more traditional families in Puerto Alegre and may have contributed to the rejection and the ultimate closure of the school only two years later. The Arakmbut responded to the teaching materials with disinterest, and on the whole still do. The members of the community see no relevance in children learning to read about the forest and Arakmbut culture when they already begin school with a profound understanding and knowledge of the forest, the depth and richness of which fails to be captured in the literacy texts. Moreover, these materials were being promoted in the school while Arakmbut knowledge and skills were being devalued and debased in daily life (and still continue to be) through contact with members of the wider society, ranging from loggers, traders and Quechua gold panners to Guardia Civil and representatives of ministries in Puerto Maldonado.

The SIL bilingual school failed in Puerto Alegre because it was unable to meet the needs of the community in the early 1970s. It had been established according to a specific model which was not based upon an analysis of the socio-cultural or economic situation of the Arakmbut

of Puerto Alegre. Instead, it centred around SIL's objective of producing a readership for the Bible which the linguists were translating into the indigenous language. Moreover, the transitional language policy was never realised in Puerto Alegre because the school dissolved in 1975 before it could embark seriously on teaching Spanish.

As it was, however, the early 1970s coincided with a boom in gold prices and a subsequent influx of gold panners, as well as the arrival of Geophysical Services Intercontinental, to set up a depot within the village of Puerto Alegre as a base for oil exploration throughout much of the community's territory. Meanwhile, the new Mining Bank (Banco Minero) and the growing number of settlers at the mouth of the Karene (Boca Colorado) was an incentive for the community to become involved in gold panning, as well as being the only legal place to sell gold. With the income from gold panning they bought 12 HP outboard motors and became more mobile. The SIL missionary underestimated the demand for speaking and reading Spanish which contact with oil workers, gold panners and traders produced. Larson stresses that learning the mother tongue first in school "permits a slower and better adjustment into the Hispanic culture by those choosing to move into the second culture" (Larson op. cit.:28). However, the oil workers camped in the heart of Puerto Alegre in 1974 did not allow for any slow adjustments and the oil company did not allow any element of choice. When the oil workers left, the community moved downstream to be closer to the gold panning area and renamed the community Puerto Luz.

In the community of San José, some one to two hours downstream from Puerto Luz, the children were being taught to read and write in Spanish by a graduate from the Dominican boarding schools. Poorly prepared and with scarce material resources in the school, this indigenous teacher taught the 3 Rs in the rote, memoristic way he had

been taught to teach but used the Harakmbut and Spanish languages as he felt appropriate for his predominantly monolingual pupils. As a member of the community, he was sensitive to the rhythm of community life, for example, occasionally dismissing the school in order to participate in a communal hunting trip. When the community moved away to a temporary gold working camp and pupil numbers shrank, he would close the school and the children had the opportunity to exchange the formality of the classroom for a period of learning and working exclusively with their families and peers. Thus, the school timetable and calendar had a flexibility which reflected the concerns of a teacher who was part of the community.

In the mid 1970s, the Arakmbut of Puerto Luz petitioned for and were sent a RESSOP lay-missionary teacher as well as native teacher. The latter explains that, despite the fact that she had spent much of her childhood and youth in Dominican boarding schools and almost forgotten Harakmbut, the community wanted her replaced by another lay-missionary (pers. comm. C. Kiñemo, 2.3.92). Meanwhile, in San José in 1980, the indigenous teacher gave up teaching, saying that he wanted more time for hunting and working gold with his clansmen. He found it hard to feed his large family on a teacher's salary in a region where gold had elevated the cost of living. He was replaced at the community's request by a RESSOP lay-missionary teacher.

In contrast to the short period in the 1970s when both schools in the Karene river had indigenous teachers, the 1980s has been characterised by lay-missionary teacher control of the schools.

In the Path of the Gold Rush

The economic migrants or colonists[3] that the Arakmbut encountered in the river Karene were part of a burgeoning non-indigenous population which grew from around 14,890 in the 1960s to some 36,555 by the 1980s

(Gray 1986:55). In 1965 the road between Cusco and Puerto Maldonado was finally completed which provided relatively easy access to the region. Another road from Cusco reached Shintuya in 1968 providing access by river to the gold working areas of the Upper Madre de Dios. Through the 1970s and 1980s the colonists flooded in to pan for small quantities of gold dust in the alluvial deposits of the rivers Karene, Inambari and Madre de Dios. Inland, too, on the ancient river courses, miners cleared the forest and topsoil to wash the alluvial deposits for between one and ten grammes of gold per day[4]. Arakmbut hunters began to encounter colonists' gold camps in the very heart of the forest which scared away all game. The Arakmbut are concerned for their future and for their children's futures once the gold panners have taken all they want and left:

> I see the future full of problems for us Amarakaeri. Few people care about us and we are becoming more and more persecuted by the police and local patrons. There is less gold work and less hunting with animals frightened by colonists. One day the gold will run out. The colonists can leave, but we can't. And after the gold rush..? What will be left for our people? (Quique, cited in Gray ibid.:3).

By 1992 it was clear that there was less gold to be panned on many of the beaches but, unlike the collapse of the rubber economy in the 1920s, the decline in gold has coincided with widespread political unrest in other parts Peru, high unemployment and poverty. The thousands of colonists are looking to agriculture, cattle ranching and lumbering as alternative means of income to gold panning and already large tracts of land on both banks of the Karene, the Pukiri and the Madre de Dios rivers have been felled and cleared for cattle. Inland forest clearing is going apace for cattle grazing, lumbering and cash cropping.

The Arakmbut communities had their territory officially demarcated and titled according to the Law of Native Communities in 1986 and the Political Constitution of Peru of 1979 guaranteed the inalienable rights

of the indigenous communities to their territory. However, these rights are flouted by colonists and patrones resulting in a situation today where the community of San José, with a population of some 130 inhabitants, has more than 500 illegal colonists living on and clearing its land. Tensions run high between the indigenous communities and the land-hungry migrants resulting in outbreaks of violence[5].

When the government approved a huge area for a cattle reserve in the early 1980s, which was to affect the land of four Arakmbut indigenous communities (Moore 1985), a delegation of Arakmbut went to Lima where it met with representatives of the indigenous Amazon organisation, AIDESEP, and presented their case to the Ministry of Agriculture. This trip and subsequent meetings in the Madre de Dios led to the first congress of the Federation of Natives of the River Madre de Dios and its Tributaries (FENAMAD) held in 1982. FENAMAD was established with the mandate to promote territorial defence, titling of community lands and other measures designed to improve the quality of the indigenous peoples' lives. FENAMAD also responded, and continues to respond, to demands for schools in indigenous communities[6].

Indigenous Organisation, Schooling and Intercultural Bilingual Education

The III FENAMAD Congress held in 1985 emphasised two areas of education where attention was needed: access to and funding for secondary schooling and further education; and the possibility of implementing an intercultural bilingual curriculum in primary schools which is developed out of "the experiences and reality of indigenous children, in order to ease their transition into further studies which take place in a foreign language and culture" (FENAMAD 1985:20).

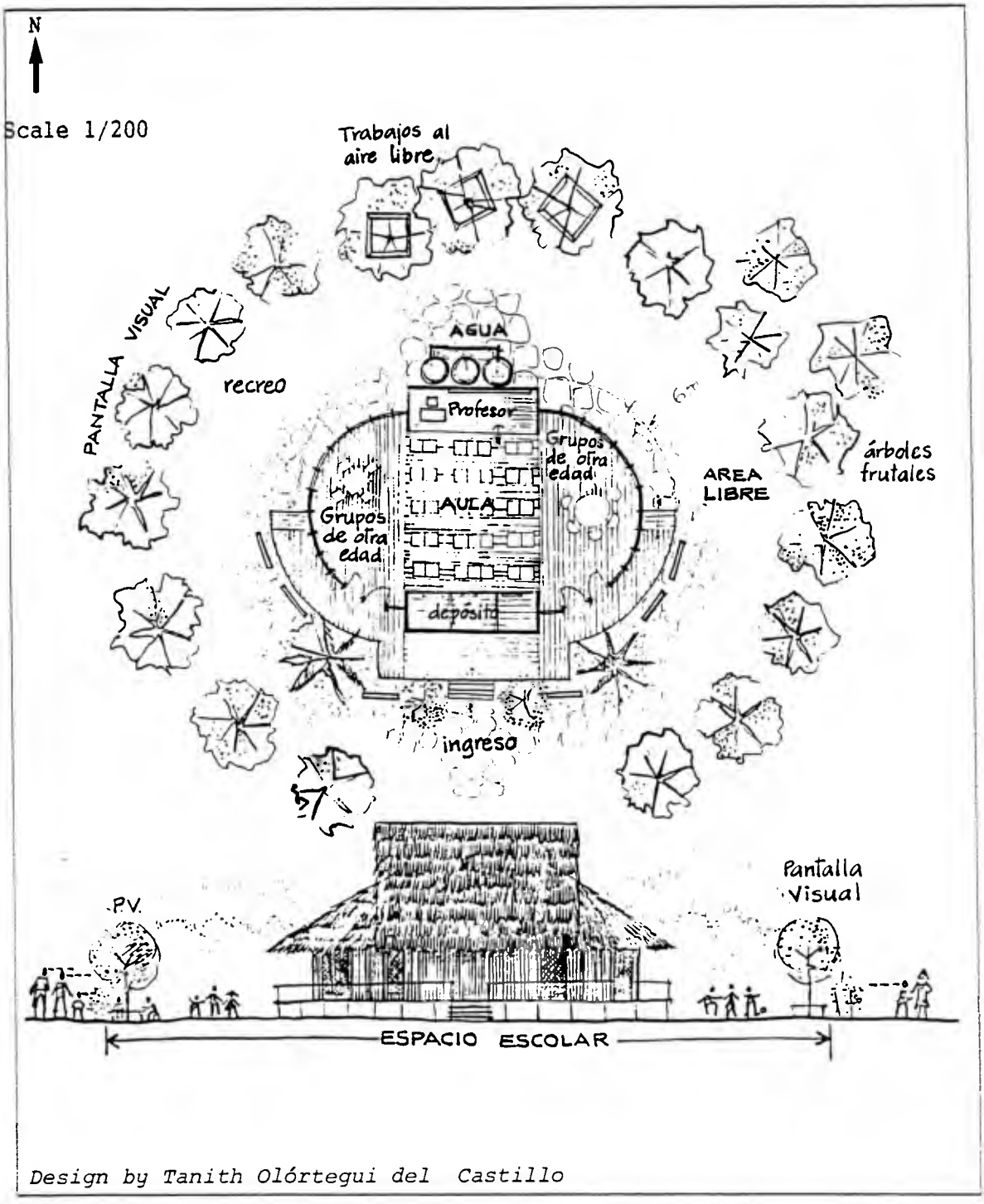
FENAMAD, together with other organisations at the Subregional level produced a document concerning qualitative improvements in

education in Madre de Dios, the Education Policy Proposal for Madre de Dios (Propuesta de Politica Educativa Sub-region de Madre de Dios, CAAAP 1992). This Proposal criticises the schooling which takes place in the Madre de Dios as being far removed from the needs of the students (both indigenous and non-indigenous) and the kind of lives they live. It notes that the education is authoritarian and factual. 75 per cent of teachers are untrained and teach an undiversified national curriculum. Urban schools fare much better than rural and have a higher percentage of textbooks and trained teachers. Thus, rural education is in the hands of predominantly untrained teachers in one- or two-teacher schools, a situation which is further exacerbated in indigenous communities where the teachers have linguistic and cultural traditions distinct from their pupils.

In providing an alternative to this situation, the Proposal states that education ought to a) be intercultural and plurilingual and follow closely the National Policy for Intercultural Bilingual Education produced by DIGEBIL (DIGBIL 1989; 1991); b) promote socio-economic development by providing an education which meets the human resource needs and c) promote respect for human dignity and education for peace (CAAAP op. cit.:21).

However, a draft of the Proposal did not become a focus for debate among delegates at the VII Congress of FENAMAD held in the Arasaeri community of Villa Santiago in August 1991. But spurred on by developments in other parts of the Peruvian Amazon, FENAMAD proposed developing an intercultural bilingual education in Harakmbut-speaking communities and the delegates gave their approval. However, it was notable at the Congress that references to bilingual education were most often made by the non-indigenous participants rather than the indigenous delegates.

Figure 1: Alternative Design for an Indigenous Rainforest School



The Director of the Educational Services Unit (USE) for the Manu-Inambari district appealed to the delegates:

> "children need to be able to study, to go forward. Where there are students, no matter how small or remote the community, there should be education because education will open their eyes" (Rosa R. Aragón, 23.8.91).

While she stressed that the Ministry of Education was open to discussions with FENAMAD for a bilingual education strategy, the Ministry was in fact overwhelmed by more concrete issues, such as why Subregional money earmarked for building classrooms had been diverted to building roads. On the subject of building schools, however, she captured the attention of the meeting. Many of the delegates had come with a specific mandate to lobby for new classrooms to replace the decaying and inadequate structures which existed. Unlike the quality of the curriculum which they perceive of as controlled by the Ministry of Education and imparted by the teacher (as is discussed in the next two chapters), the community members feel a certain responsibility for, and have a possibility of influencing, the quality of the classrooms.

A new school design using local materials ('materiales rusticos') and techniques was presented to the delegates at the Congress, which comprised an airy, flexible and spacious classroom suited to the humid, hot conditions found in all the indigenous communities (Figure 1). This 'rustic' school was designed for a flexible use of space and light and contrasts sharply with the box-shaped design promoted by the Ministry of Education throughout Peru (Figure 2). The latter is constructed from 'noble' materials ('materiales nobles') with high concrete walls which keep out not only the gaze and interest of the community but also any breeze to relieve the heat from the corrugated iron roof. However, the new design was rejected by the delegates as inferior because of its 'rustic' materials and the concrete 'noble' design was approved. The

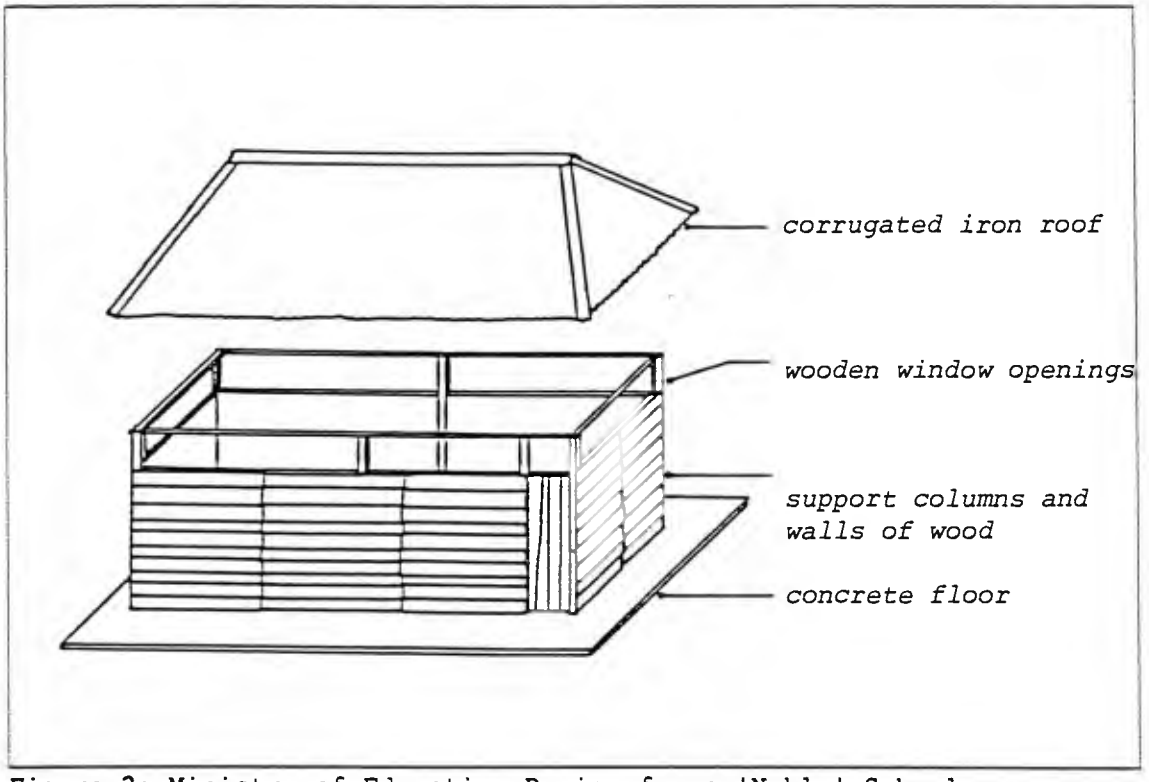


Figure 2: Ministry of Education Design for a 'Noble' School

most obstinate rejection of the rustic design came particularly from the Arakmbut communities of San José and Puerto Luz where a concrete and corrugated iron school signifies community status. Many of the schools in indigenous communities are made of local, 'rustic' materials by the villagers themselves. It is a sign of status to have a Ministry of Education blue concrete school building and only poor rural communities have rustic schools.

FENAMAD decided to initiate its intercultural bilingual education programme development with the Harakmbut communities because they are the largest indigenous group within FENAMAD. However, as this chapter has detailed, the Harakmbut peoples are the survivors of disease and slavery which drastically reduced their numbers in the first half of this century. Of the 11 communities they comprise today, five are Arakmbut, two are Wachipaeri, one Arasaeri, one mixed Matsigenka and Kisambaeri and one Pukirieri. Therefore, though they are the largest

ethnic group in terms of numbers of people, they display considerable variation from community to community in terms of dialect, history of contact with the wider national society and their present day relations with that society. The final section of this Chapter presents a typology of Harakmbut communities according to characteristics which are significant for the development of intercultural bilingual education[7].

A Typology of Harakmbut Communities

The first type (Type 1) is exemplified by San José where the school is controlled by RESSOP and, through the monolingual Spanish-speaking lay-missionary teachers, the Diocese maintains ties with the community. The communities use their mother tongue in all inter-community and inter-family situations and children enter school with no more than a few words of Spanish, or in many cases none at all. Thus in these communities Harakmbut is still a strong and thriving language but Spanish is on the increase through contact with colonists. Although still rare, intermarriage with non-indigenous migrants has begun to occur since the 1990s. These communities show no interest in bilingual education and no understanding of what intercultural education is, or could be for them.

A second type of community (Type 2) is where the school is run directly by the Ministry of Education and comes under the control of the nearest USE. This type of community has usually experienced a rapid turnover of teachers who are poorly paid and trained and posted to these relatively remote indigenous schools with no consultation. Poor community/teacher relations are common in these communities where the teacher's main aim is to serve out his/her time as painlessly as possible and gain promotion to a more prestigious school, that is, an urban school. This has led to instances of teachers molesting Harakmbut

women, being thrown out or running away and abandoning the school.

These communities have had more persistent contact with national institutions and colonists than Type 1 communities which has demanded greater use of Spanish, for example in dealing with the USE, filing complaints and petitions about the school and in relations with colonists, whether through trade, political alliances, invasions of their territory or armed conflict. Some of the children are growing up in close proximity to Spanish speaking children and some schools include the non-indigenous children of local colonists. An example of a community in this category is Barranco Chico.

A third type of community (Type 3) is one where, for a variety of historical and geographical reasons, the mother tongue of the majority of the children is Spanish and only the senior members of the community speak Harakmbut with any degree of fluency. In this type of community there is strong support for a programme of indigenous language teaching in school, especially amongst members of the older generation who believe the language may die with them. Here non-indigenous children may outnumber the indigenous children in the school which is run by the Ministry of Education. The Arasaeri community of Villa Santiago fits this category. Here, the school was first established in 1965 to cater for the colonists who settled around the nearby road between Cusco and Puerto Maldonado.

There is another category of community (Type 4) that is exemplified by Boca Isiriwe which has no school and the children have to be sent as boarders to the Shintuya mission or other centres for schooling. This community comprises more than one ethnic group which brings specific considerations for intercultural and bilingual education.

The RESSOP school communities, which comprise the first group, show no interest in bilingual education and not only have they rejected native teachers in the past, but have disassociated themselves from the running and curriculum of the school. In contrast, the communities with Ministry of Education schools have had to take a more active role in the school in order to ensure that it functions at all because of the general inefficiency and lack of commitment shown by the Mestizo teachers. The following chapter looks at the situation in the Arakmbut community of San José.

In conclusion, this chapter has illustrated the wide variation in formal education which Harakmbut communities have experienced in the Madre de Dios and, in particular, the different integrationist education policies of the Dominicans and SIL. It has also provided a brief outline of the pressures upon the Harakmbut and the speed and intensity of demographic movement and social, economic and environmental change in the Madre de Dios over this century. The Harakmbut peoples have reacted and responded to these influences and educational policies in different ways according to the development of their relations with the national society and the potential destructiveness of the contact. In RESSOP school communities the Harakmbut have maintained close relations with the Dominican missionaries and continue to experience the Dominican 'civilising scheme' through the work of the lay-missionaries. The next two chapters consider the relations and interactions between the school, the lay-missionaries and the members of the Arakmbut community in San José.

Footnotes

1. For more detailed information about the history of contact with the indigenous populations of Madre de Dios see for example: Fuentes 1982; Gray 1983; Rummenhöller 1987; Wahl 1987, Barriales n.d. and the journal

Misiones Dominicanas del Peru published by the Vicariate Apostólico de Puerto Maldonado and which contain accounts by missionaries of their work in the Diocese.

2. Wahl devotes several chapters to Dominican ideology and the nature of their religious task in her thesis (Wahl 1987).

3. The term 'colonist' is used throughout this thesis to refer to the settlers who moved into the area throughout the 1970s and 1980s and corresponds to the Spanish term by which they are referred, 'colonos'. The colonisation of the Madre de Dios was spearheaded in the early 1980s by the Belaunde government's campaign to ease overpopulation in the highlands and coastal strip encouraging settlements in the southern Amazon. The Rainforest was advertised throughout Peru as unpopulated and fertile and offering a bright new future to those who would take up the challenge and go. This was also a period of large scale illegal colonisation of indigenous lands. For more details of the composition of the non-indigenous population in the Amazon, see Chirif 1991, pp. 39-46.

4. For details of the gold economy and its relations with the international economy, see Gray 1986; Rummenhöller 1985 and 1987.

There are three categories of 'colonist' engaged in the gold economy: small scale miners come with their families to escape rural or urban fringe poverty; 'patrons' with their own workforce; and labourers, 'peones'. The latter comprise the patron's workforce and are for the most part young single men from the Andean region, contracted for 90 day periods, who often become embroiled in debt bondage.

5. This situation may deteriorate even further because of changes to the 1979 Constitution in the New Constitution ratified by President Fujimori in December 1993, which removes the inalienability of indigenous territory. The Constitutional changes were denounced by AIDESEP at the UN Working Group for Indigenous Populations in Geneva in July 1993 (see IWGIA Newsletter No 3 1993).

6. While RESSOP controls the majority of schools in Arakmbut communities, the majority of indigenous community schools in the Department are run directly by the Ministry of Education. Today there are 9 RESSOP community schools of a total of 34 FENAMAD communities. However, the number of schools is changing as new ones are established. The number of communities belonging to FENAMAD is also fluid as new communities are established and receive their official recognition and as others are forced to relocate because of outside pressures.

7. It does not include the Wachipaeri communities of Santa Rosa de Huacaria or Qeros as I was unable to visit these communities.

CHAPTER 4: THE PRIMARY SCHOOL IN THE COMMUNITY OF SAN JOSE

Al Maestro	To the Teacher
Antorcha luminosa de la vida que conduces al camino del saber mediante sus desvelos y constancias protege el niño la chispa de saber se despide tembloros lo ignorancia y se aleja para no volver.	The shining light of life which leads along the path of knowledge through its mysteries and certainties protect the spark of knowledge in the child and send ignorance away trembling, far away never to return.
La carrera mas hermosa de este mundo es la de un maestro profero en que se encuentra el cariño más profundo y consejos al lado de su amor.	The most beautiful career in this world is that which a teacher professes one in which there is affection deep affection and council side by side with love.
!Oh maestro seguirte el ejemplo de Jesucristo Maestro de maestros y como él tu sabes tu llevas el ejemplo de instruir y educar a la niñez.	Oh, teacher, follow the example of Jesus Christ Teacher of teachers, like him you are knowledgeable and follow his example of teaching and educating children.

(from Wilfredo's songbook, Grade 4, San José School)

San José and its neighbouring community, Puerto Luz, are Arakmbut communities which belong to Type 1 (cf. Chapter 3), characterised by a RESSOP lay-missionary run primary school. While the members of both San José and Puerto Luz show little interest in FENAMAD's intention to develop intercultural bilingual education, they are both firm in their desire for a RESSOP-run school with lay-missionary teachers. However, though the communities want RESSOP schools, they want nothing to do with the running of them. Arakmbut disinterest towards the school has produced a situation where the teachers express a deep frustration and sense of isolation. Nevertheless, their commitment to the community as missionaries has meant that, unlike the majority of teachers in Ministry of Education schools in indigenous communities who have high rates of absenteeism and leave after only short spells, they have a more continuous record of service.

The current debate concerning the quality of education in the

Madre de Dios focuses on the need for a system that is "adapted to the reality of the Department" (CAAAP 1992:13). The next two chapters elucidate different interpretations of the 'reality' of the school in San José, and to a lesser extent Puerto Luz, as well as different perspectives on the position of the school from the teachers' and the communities' perspectives. This chapter approaches the situation from the perspective of the formal education system and the teachers, looking at the aims of the institution of the school and the primary curriculum and elucidating the aims and practices of the teachers as both educational professionals and lay-missionaries.

The San José school, or 'educational centre' (Centro Educativo No. 52075), comprises two classrooms, a 'rustic' building with a leaking leaf thatch roof and a 'noble' building (cf. Chapter 3) with a leaking corrugated iron roof. Since 1983 the community has had two members of staff, one Director and a teacher, though there was a short period when the Director taught unaided. Between 1983 and 1992 the school has had between 25 and 35 pupils per year who are divided into one class of grades 1 and 2 and another of grades 3 to 6. Over the last few years the Grade 1/2 class has been augmented by an 'initial' ('inicial') grade. The number of children in 'Initial' fluctuates.

In terms of the critique of schooling in the Madre de Dios made by the Education Policy Proposal (CAAAP ibid), the school in San José provides an example of much of what it considers inadequate: an undiversified national curriculum taught through a very limited methodology, multi-grade classes with poorly trained teachers, scarcity of teaching materials and decaying infrastructure, insufficient and deficient supervision, a lack of financial support and relatively high rates of drop out and repetition.

In early 1992, the President of San José drew up a list of

complaints about the then current teachers ('1991 teachers') which resulted in them leaving San José after several years of service (see p.133). The incident threw the community into turmoil for some months and was a source of pain and anger for the teachers who subsequently transferred to Puerto Luz. Though the RESSOP administration threatened to withdraw its staff altogether from San José the community retained its school and received a new Director and teacher ('1992 teachers')[1]. But the disinterest and frustration on the part of the community and teachers, respectively, persisted.

The first section considers the conditions under which the teachers worked and the difficulties they experienced in the context of inadequacies cited by the Education Proposal (and illustrated in Appendix C). The second section considers their tasks as teachers, community developers and missionaries and the ways in which these duties affected their perception of the 'reality' of San José.

The Characteristics of Formal Education

The insights I gained into the practices in the school have a strong parallel in the findings of Avalos (1986) in her study into schools in poor environments in four Latin America Countries. In this study she is concerned with styles of teaching and characteristics of teacher-pupil interactions. Appendix C provides an example of the styles of teaching and the range of teaching-learning activities which I found in all the classrooms in the San José and Puerto Luz schools: copying from the blackboard while the teacher's attention is with another group of children; answering questions or completing a dictation at the blackboard with one child while the rest of the grade look on awaiting their turn; faithfully copying correct answers into exercise books; and memorising 'facts' and rules.

- Authoritative Control

The teacher wields a control over the classroom and all the pupils in it. As Avalos notes in the context of a Bolivian school, the teacher is in almost total control, it is her domain where she enforces law and order (op. cit.:39). In San José this control is maintained through threats of physical punishment such as beatings with stinging nettles ('isanga') as well as actually hitting children on the bottom with a ruler and hitting them on the head with exercise books. The teacher's control over good and bad work is achieved through verbal encouragement or denigration. A teacher, dissatisfied with a drawing produced by a Grade 2 child held it up and asked the class "Do you know what this is anyone? - Pure scribbles!" and of another child's attempt: "Rogelio, what a horrible drawing you have done!" (22.11.91 Puerto Luz).

The new 1992 Director was opposed to the use of corporal punishment but was unable to control the class. If he was a few minutes late in arriving at the school in the morning, many of his pupils would have run off into the forest and would not return that day; if he turned his back on the class to write on the board the children would begin shouting, throwing pencils and balls of paper; and when he tried to administer the first end of the month tests, the children climbed the classroom walls and ran off. The 1991 Director had faced a similar situation when she first took up her position in 1983 but had established her complete authority over her class by energetically pursuing a range of disciplinary measures including beating the children with a hosepipe. She did this, moreover, with full community approval. The 1992 Director found community support contradictory, at one moment parents were encouraging him to hit the children to bring them under his control, and at the next moment accusing him of hitting their children (which he did not do).

- Normative Classroom Exchange

The classroom atmosphere in 1991 was one of rigidity and pupil intimidation which extended to all interactions between the pupils and teacher. Children were not encouraged to be creative, spontaneous or to take any initiative. After giving an instruction about putting fractions into order, the San José teacher asked "Do you understand or do you not?" The pupils mumbled in the affirmative (31.10.91). Questions were 'closed' and required single word responses, which were often mere repetitions of what the teacher had already said, for example, "What is this word?... It is piano, piano. Repeat it after me, piano!" (12.11.91 San José). In this way the teacher answered many of her own questions and talked to the class in a 'monologue'. Avalos considers that this 'monologuing' is a way of reacting to continual pupil silence when a teacher has endeavoured unsuccessfully to extract responses to specific questions (op. cit.:84). However, the degree of freedom which the students have to respond and initiate talk in the classroom is severely limited. The teachers complained about the passivity of the students but did not question the structure of the discourse within the classroom.

This monologuing and high degree of 'teacher talk' takes place in a learning environment characterised by simultaneous instruction. Green (1993) notes how the degree of 'freedom' in speech events in the classroom are not only dictated by the nature of the evaluation system but also according to what is 'knowledge' in the classroom. Moreover, he links this with the strong bias on the written language over verbal interaction. The restricted opportunities for speech in the classrooms of Puerto Luz and San José combined with the teachers' authoritarian control produced a unresponsiveness in the pupils which the teachers failed to comprehend.

A dictation lesson in a Puerto Luz classroom on 'The Three

Kingdoms of Nature' involved pupils coming to the blackboard, chalk in hand, and writing a sentence as the teacher dictated it aloud. In the course of the two-hour dictation lesson, the teacher never asked for a definition or explained the meaning of the Spanish words in the dictation except to comment that the Three Kingdoms were animal, mineral and vegetable, a distinction which is quite alien to Arakmbut ordering of phenomena. If the child at the blackboard faltered over her writing of a word or a syllable, the teacher would repeat the word louder and louder until she was shouting. The child would either eventually hit on the correct spelling in panic or the teacher would shout out the answer in frustration.

- Memorising as Learning

The emphasis of teaching and the assessment of learning concentrated on the faithful recopilation of information, ranging from grammatical rules to songs about 'Baby Jesus' and the ability to regurgitate these on demand. The careful copying of pictures from handbook to exercise book was accompanied by the neat and exact transference of text from the blackboard to the exercise book, including the complicated use of different coloured chalks and pens to distinguish headings from subheadings, etc. In San José the shortage of textbooks had become an end in itself, and the educational process was geared towards the reproduction of lessons and pictures from the few textbooks that existed, sometimes via the blackboard, so that at the end of each grade each student could hold in her hand the sum of the knowledge she was expected to have in her head.

Conditions and Constraints on Teachers

The 1991 teachers in San José were 'category III'[2], that is to say they had no professional qualifications but had several years of teaching experience in San José community and previous years of service in other Arakmbut communities. On the contrary, the 1992 teachers who replaced them were new to the Arakmbut, relatively new to both the rainforest and teaching, but were attending institutions of higher education in Lima during the long vacation in order to acquire a formal teaching qualification ('profesionalización'). Despite their different backgrounds and experience, all teachers had three common foci of dissatisfaction: with the Ministry of Education and RESSOP; with the Diocese and the Priest from Shintuya under whose pastoral care the community of San José was entrusted; and with the members of the community of San José itself. The teachers in Puerto Luz also expressed the same dissatisfactions. Each of these interrelated foci will be considered in order to build up a picture of the Dominican lay-missionary teachers' perspective of the educational and social reality within which they worked and lived.

- The Peruvian Education System

The situation in which the teachers in San José found themselves working and living was by no means unique. Tovar paints a similar picture for many highland teachers in marginal rural schools, where she indicates that rural teachers are in permanent confrontation between the school as an institution and the concrete existence of the real school in the countryside (Tovar 1989:34)[3]. The teachers in San José found themselves faced with huge disparities between the aims and objectives prescribed by the education system within which they taught and the conditions in the community for achieving these aims.

The lack of teaching materials frustrated the teachers' work. The shortage of textbooks and usable blackboards were the most basic problems. Despite petitioning the USE, books which ought to have been distributed free of charge never reached San José. The 1991 Director attributed this to the fact that she no longer had a personal contact in the USE. The Dominican Padres occasionally produced some textbooks for the school from Spain but they remained unused on the school shelf because they demanded teaching methodologies which were quite unknown to the teachers. The Director felt angry that neither the USE nor RESSOP seemed prepared to take responsibility for providing even the most basic materials. In the highly centralised Peruvian education system a Basic Curricular Programme is published each year for each grade of primary school which details the general and specific objectives and the content of each subject area for the academic year. For both student and teacher there is a handbook (for example Sembrador or Nueva Escuela) which presents these sequenced objectives in terms of detailed lesson plans and content. The San José teachers had only two long out-of-date copies.

The 'Basic Curricular Programme' for Grade 2, 1992, states that:

> The General Directorate for Primary and Secondary Education has designed a valuable flexible curricular structure in favour of the interests and needs of man and the community. It is a structure which allows for diversification according to the spacial, geographical, cultural, economic and productive reality (Ministry of Education 1992:3).

Moreover, the educational legislation states that national plans and programmes shall be adapted to "the environment and the student" (Reglamento de Educación Primaria, Chapter II, Article 29) by teachers at the beginning of the school year. The 1992 teachers, in the midst of professional training in Lima, arrived in the community to find that they had to draw up their teaching plans and monthly evaluation tests with one old handbook for Grade 6 from 1984 and no source books. They

were outraged at the conditions under which both the Ministry of Education and RESSOP expected them to work. Like the 1991 teachers before them, they had neither the programmes which were to be adapted, nor the skills and training to carry it out. Besides, any adaption was, in effect, an extremely demanding task given the extent to which "the environment and the student" differ from that of the teacher.

The excessive amount of paperwork and administration demanded by the Ministry of Education annually for each pupil, compounded by anonymous directives sent out from Lima throughout each academic year regarding changes in procedures, was a source of irritation and frustration. The teachers were unable to close the school at the end of the 1991 academic year because the appropriate forms which had to be completed before the closing ceremony ('clausura') had not arrived from Lima. The 1991 Director considered that the long end-of-year reports she had to deliver to RESSOP were a waste of time and she was convinced that no one ever read them because none of her recommendations had ever been acted upon.

The rigid bureaucratization which characterises school in Peru and the teachers' work, as evidenced by the system of monthly evaluations as well as the meticulous and particular records of attendance and enrolment required of teachers, bears witness to a "fictitious educational reality" (Tovar op cit.:156). This 'fictitious reality' ignores the teacher's daily struggle to keep the school operational, ranging from finding a dry place in the classroom for each pupil to work to trying to ensure that children attend the school at all. The 1991 statistics for pupil attendance in San José reflect neither the real levels of attendance nor the problem facing teachers in a very fluid and mobile society[4]. The 1991 Register of Evaluation paints a picture of well behaved children, most of whom achieve good pass marks in all their

subjects. Only a few pupils repeat grades, and those are mostly confined to the first years (see Chapter 7). This 'fictionalisation' of student performance was made apparent when the 1992 Director arrived and found no relation between the marks in the school register for 1991 and the performance of his pupils.

The school follows a routine which is established at the national level: parading, anthem singing, whistle blowing and strict adherence to a national calendar including celebrating such occasions as 'Mother's Day'. Tovar suggests that it is through this routinisation of schooling that teachers are able to cope with the difficulties of daily teaching because the reality becomes the routine (Tovar op. cit.). At the same time the routinisation of delivering reports, evaluations and registers extends also to the academic requirements of the school such as the adaptation and reprogramming of the curriculum and programmes and the routine drawing up of work plans. UNESCO considers that this 'merely operational and technical' approach to teaching, which pervaded the San José school, strips teachers of their professionalism (UNESCO/OREALC 1990:40).

The absence of pre-service training or an initial training is widely considered a contributing factor in this routinisation of the teacher's work (ibid:38). Apart from the few specialised courses and institutions in the Central and Northern Peruvian Amazon (see Appendix A and Chapter 9), teacher training courses are extremely theoretical, undifferentiated and, like the school curriculum itself, geared towards urban schools with comparatively 'ample' resources (Zuñiga 1989). The 1992 teachers felt they were totally unprepared for the situation which they encountered in San José and were angry at the absence of professional support in terms of training to cope with a multi-grade class or language backup. This was particularly acute for the class of

younger children which in 1992 comprised 10 monolingual Arakmbut 3-5 year olds in 'Initial' level (though they quickly dropped out), 8 monolingual first graders and 5 second graders with only a smattering of isolated Spanish words. These teachers arrived with the intention of learning the Harakmbut language but received no encouragement from RESSOP to do so.

The opportunities for in-service training are severely hampered for rural teachers in distant communities. The San José teachers are unable to leave their posts from the beginning of term in April through to the two week break in August, and from late August to December when the school year ends. A trip to the nearest town, Puerto Maldonado, involves a round trip of a week by canoe and the cost of the trip often prohibits the teachers from leaving the community in the two week August holiday. Any in-service training courses must, therefore, take place in the long holiday from January to March, but many courses and summer schools are run by private institutions and are costly. This also precludes many teachers who have very low rates of remuneration.

The lack of support or supervision from RESSOP was bitterly endured by the teachers. RESSOP has full control of the administration and supervision of the schools within its jurisdiction. Between 1989 and 1992, the RESSOP supervisor made annual visits of sometimes only a few hours to the Karene schools but none at all in 1993. A teacher from Puerto Luz complained that the only visit the RESSOP supervisor had made in all the years she had been teaching there was when she was away on holiday and the school was closed. In this respect, RESSOP schools fare no better than the state run schools where, apart from the severe shortage of supervisors, there is no money for them to travel to remote rural schools and the lack of facilities in indigenous community schools offer few incentives to visit. Moreover, as Tovar (op. cit.:52) also

notes in other parts of Peru, the supervision largely focuses on control and is predominantly administrative and bureaucratic, rather than providing professional advice and backup.

Isolation from other members of the teaching profession aggravates the teachers' situation, which, in general, is one of poverty of professional training and support. Though San José and Puerto Luz are only some two to three hours apart by river, the teachers meet, at most, twice each academic year during their respective communities' founding day celebrations. However, these are not events for discussion, exchange of educational experiences or mutual reinforcement. On the contrary, the rivalry between communities, which accounts for the limited contact between them, is mirrored in the competitive relations between the teachers. While in the isolation of their own community, the San José teachers insist that the Arakmbut of Puerto Luz are much more co-operative than those of San José. Face to face with the Puerto Luz teachers they often talk of the support they receive from their community. Consequently, neither party considers the other an appropriate partner for professional support.

The USE did not provide any support in terms of specifying relevant aims or a regionally produced syllabus and materials. Instead the teachers had to battle on in isolation with curriculum plans, methods and approaches to learning, materials and examinations that were geared towards Spanish speaking children in well-equipped urban schools. This situation combined to give the teachers a sense of isolation and the impression that no one in the educational hierarchy was interested in them or the difficulties under which they had to work. Not surprisingly, the teachers said they felt abandoned by the system.

- The Diocese

As the children in San José school were taught in April 1992, and copied faithfully into their exercise books, the Church comprises a large hierarchy with Christ at the top and themselves at the bottom. In between are the Sacerdotes (missionaries or 'Padres') and the lay-missionaries several rungs below. The missionaries and lay-missionaries are charged to attend to the pastoral care of the indigenous communities and the latter are also permitted to carry out religious services. Nevertheless, because of lack of community interest, the teachers in San José restrict their religious work to within the school where they gave instruction in the catechism, taught the children about the sacraments and introduced God to the younger grades through songs, stories and drawings. The Karene river communities came under the care of the Padres in Shintuya but their visits were infrequent which was a great source of disappointment for the teachers. Consequently the teachers felt isolated and neglected by the Diocese which reflected their position near the bottom of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The 1992 Director of San José school came up against the authority and power of the Diocese when he tried to muster Diocesan support for community development work. He suggested that the Bishop might provide a small machine for cutting the grass on the football pitch. The teacher reasoned that this would both raise community morale, because the men and children liked playing football, and improve the appearance of the village. However, he was told that only the Padres could confer such a machine, not a lay-missionary teacher. The Padres were a source of material goods, including loans for the purchase of exercise books and pencils to sell to the community throughout the school year, which the lay-missionary teachers were not. Thus the Padres had a financial power and influence which was denied the lay-missionary teacher.

Financial poverty and the position of dependency this placed them in vis-à-vis the community and the Diocese was one of the teachers' most articulated concerns. Teachers' salaries fell 131 per cent between the years 1966 and 1985 (Tovar op cit:63) and since then most teachers have tried to supplement their salaries with other work, a particularly difficult task for rural teachers. On a few occasions the San José teachers panned for gold with different families in order to save to pay for their fare down river to Puerto Maldonado at the end of term.

At the beginning of each academic year the Bishop provides a loan for the RESSOP teachers so that they can buy all their food in Puerto Maldonado where prices are lower and transport it to their respective communities. Therefore, in April, the teachers arrive heavily laden with sacks of rice and beans, sugar, flour, salt and tins of evaporated milk and fish. To make their diet palatable they rely on donations of vegetables and meat from the villagers, especially from their compadres (see page 102). Their salary also has to supplement the small ration of petrol authorised by the Bishop for occasional running of the Diocese radio. The Diocese sometimes also provides them with a small supply of first aid equipment and basic medicines such as worming tablets for children, and injections of antibiotics and painkillers for emergencies.

The teachers in San José are part of two hierarchical and authoritative institutions: the Ministry of Education and the Diocese. In both institutions they occupy the most lowly and least prestigious positions and are expected to cope in conditions shunned by those further up the hierarchies. Any incentive on the part of the teachers to change or improve their teaching practices is severely hampered by financial poverty and lack of support. The next section considers the teachers' tasks and how they perceive them, and outlines the parameters of the conceptual framework within which they work.

The Teacher's Task

- The Bearer of Culture

La Vuelta a Escuela	The Return to School
Cual bandada de palomas que regresan del vergel ya volvemos a la escuela anhelantes de saber.	What flock of doves is returning from the orchard? We are now returning to school eager to learn.
Saludemos nuestra escuela con cariño y gratitud, que ella guarda el faro hermoso de la ciencia y la virtud.	We greet our school with affection and gratitude because it guards the beautiful light of science and virtue.
Ni un momento la olvidamos en los meres de solaz nunca olvida la paloma su querido palomar	We have not forgotten it for a moment during our vacation, just as the dove will never forget its beloved dovecote.

(from Wilfredo's songbook, Grade 4, San José school)

The way in which the San José teachers might adapt the curriculum or modify their teaching methods (had they the means) would be related to the way in which they perceive the 'reality' of the community and the purpose of the school. The teachers in San José do not identify themselves with the Arakmbut but consider themselves ethnically distinct and superior. For them, San José is a community in need of modernisation and development, a process which means adopting Mestizo values and ways of life. This perspective derives fundamentally from the discriminatory and hierarchical ordering of ethnic groups in Peru whereby wherever one is on the ethnic/class scale (be it urban Mestizo aristocrat near the top or Andean campesino near the bottom) the Amazon Indian is considered inferior and discriminated against accordingly (see Dobyns and Doughty 1976). As Mestizos themselves, the teachers identify with the Peruvian 'national' culture, a westernised but by no means unitary culture. The education system is embedded in this westernised culture and developmental paradigm which encourages teachers to consider themselves

'portadores de cultura', the legitimate transmitters of Peruvian culture (Tovar 1989:59).

The San José teachers believe that it is their duty to their profession, to their pupils and to the community to be a role model for the Mestizo way of life. However, this task is severely hampered by the financial and material poverty of their existence. Faced with a shortage of teaching materials, the teachers do not look to the resources of the surrounding environment because they do not consider the surrounding physical, cultural or social environment as having anything to contribute to their educational and cultural task. On the contrary, they adhere strongly to the school routine and the routinised lessons and do not question the appropriateness of what they teach in terms of the indigenous society. The 1992 Director thought that any changes in the curriculum which might make the content of the lessons more relevant to the rainforest environment of the pupils would seriously disadvantage them if they continued to secondary school.

The indigenous children are considered 'tabula rasa' when they first come to school and the considerable breadth of learning about their social and physical environment (which will be discussed in Chapter 6) and their language ability is ignored, or remains unknown to the teacher. Instead, the children leave this knowledge and these skills outside the classroom, acutely aware that it has no relevance for their schooling. They enter the classroom as 'empty vessels' to learn about foreign things in a foreign environment in what Goody would consider a 'decontextualisation of children' (Goody 1987:184). The classroom is a microcosm and laboratory for the propagation of modern, western society and Mestizo culture, albeit a very impoverished one:

> The contrast between the educational poverty of marginal schools and the rich culture of the communities is striking, in particular in indigenous villages. Schools with few

> resources, with poorly trained teachers and with a curriculum and normative system which ignores the rural reality, provide for communities which have distinct forms of comprehending the world, where there is not just a close link with the environment but a distinct cosmovision... different categories of values and another vision of the individual and society.. (Tovar 1989:39-40).

A brief examination of the content of the lessons in the school provides an illustration of not only the values promoted by the national curriculum but those of the teacher who has organised the syllabus and selected the content. A lesson on the 'Rights and Duties of Citizens' (19.5.92 San José) fulfilled the first objective of Peruvian education: "knowledge of a student's rights and duties which will enable him to function in the society" (New General Education Law 23384, 1982, Article 3a). The Grade 5 pupils copied faithfully into their exercise books: "it is the right of the citizen to participate in public affairs in a direct form through a representative who is freely elected through a vote which takes place periodically". This lesson took place in a community where the vast majority of the children's parents do not have an electoral card and, consequently, are not eligible to vote.

The social science lesson dictated to Grades 3 and 4 in Puerto Luz (22.11.91) provides an example of what the textbooks and the teachers, concerned to bring modern culture to the Arakmbut, consider to be 'contemporary society'. A dictation entitled 'The Protection and Care of Animals' was concerned with how useful the horse, cow, dog, hen and cat are as domesticated animals to man. "The horse is the most beautiful animal. Thanks to it we can work, travel and relax. The cow gives us milk, meat and skin while the cat gives us affection..." This lesson took place in a hunting community where eating domesticated animals is in many cases considered repugnant and contrary to Arakmbut religious beliefs. The teacher's decision to ignore, or perhaps her ignorance of, the vast Arakmbut knowledge of the forest animals and hunters' expertise

and respect for them, involves considerable determination.

A sense of national history and pride is fostered through lessons concerning the Peruvian 'heroes' such as Miguel Grau, "who died in combat after defending our country with great heroism" (Sembrador Grade 2, page 350 lesson text 12.11.91, San José) and "promotes a sense of love for the Fatherland" (New General Education Law 23384 1982:Article 15). The lesson ignores the children's knowledge of Arakmbut 'heroes' such as 'Marinke' who serves as a Arakmbut model for manhood (cf. Chapter 3). It also denies the Arakmbut their own history.

The Director taught a lesson in November 1991 entitled 'Christopher Columbus Discovers America' and instructed the students to write a passage telling why they would like to have sailed in one of Columbus' ships (see Appendix C). The choice of a lesson on Christopher Columbus on the eve of 1992, the anniversary of indigenous Americans' '500 years of Resistance' to colonial oppression, can perhaps be viewed from the context of the Education Law's objectives of encouraging "a perfect understanding and deep affirmation of the national character,...the cultural integration of Latin America and the universal ambit in which contemporary society is being developed" (New General Education Law 23384, 1982, Article 3c). Consequently, the teacher's aims can be interpreted as looking to the arrival of the European conquistadors for the essence of the Peruvian national character and contemporary society. This interpretation would account for the complete disregard for the decimation of indigenous peoples that accompanied the arrival of the Spaniards and for Arakmbut direct experience of the colonising front as it first penetrated Arakmbut territory in the 20th century and continues to threaten their lives today through, among other processes, the colonisation of knowledge that this teaching and curriculum represent.

These examples illustrate the way in which the curriculum is a forum for cultural politics and the supremacy of western knowledge. They highlight the processes of cultural imperialism analysed by Carnoy (1974; see also Apple 1982) and the deculturation processes denounced by, among others, Varese et al. (1983) and Bonfil (1984). The teacher has total control over the classroom where she alone defines what is valid knowledge, valid ways of perceiving the world, what are valid ways of communicating and transmitting knowledge and valid ways of evaluating and realising this knowledge (cf. p.16). These ways negate all the prior and current learning of the Arakmbut students outside of the school and the sources of that learning within Arakmbut society.

However, the curriculum and the school environment are not only divorced from the 'reality' of the Arakmbut people and San José society, but also divorced from the 'reality' of the Peruvian society which encompasses the community. In school, Peruvian society and culture are illustrated through snapshots of ideal situations such as the lesson on the rights and duty of citizens to vote. This lesson took place during a political vacuum when the President of Peru had suspended the Constitution and was ruling by decree. The school lessons present a 'reality' which is unprovocative, acritical and abstracted from the events which dominate the lives of most Peruvians: economic chaos and deprivation, widespread urban and rural poverty, guerilla war, drug trafficking and endemic corruption. These events impinge on the community of San José in terms of being cheated by corrupt officials at Boca Colorado, receiving no de facto protection for their lands through the Peruvian Law of Native Communities, and receiving death threats from aggressive and violent illegal colonists. The Peruvian society and 'national culture' which the Arakmbut children encounter in school bears no relation to the Peruvian society they encounter at Boca Colorado.

However, one of the main aims of the school according to both teachers and community is to 'teach Arakmbut children Spanish'. The teachers dedicate a large amount of each school day to "improve the situation of the Peruvian people, considering the eradication of illiteracy as the primordial task" (New General Education Law 23384 1982, Article 3b). In school, Spanish is the only medium of instruction; it is the language of the formal education system at all levels and, as one of the teachers emphasised, a change in this language policy could have the result of denying Arakmbut students access to higher levels of the formal Peruvian education system.

The teachers' approach to the Spanish language is to teach grammatical rules and this is done by presenting examples of the rules together with the exceptions and lists of vocabulary. A language test for grade 4 children (24.06.92 San José) illustrates this approach[5]. The more recent texts used for teaching first grade Spanish (such as Coquito) take a different approach based on a structural analysis of the language, and a whole word approach. However, there is no attempt to consider the context in which the pupils will use the language (a 'situational' approach) or the concepts or notions the learners will first want to express themselves (a 'functional' approach).

A child's inability to read the word 'piano' during a language lesson (see Appendix C) may have had more to do with his inability to recognise a picture of a grand piano as anything meaningful than his inability to read. The language syllabus makes no attempt to contextualise words and phrases, despite the fact that some Spanish is spoken in the community between guest workers, and between Arakmbut and all non-Harakmbut people. The teachers have no training in teaching Spanish as a second language and assume that Arakmbut students learn by absorption. As Pozzi-Escot (1989) notes in the Andean highlands, the

teachers do not distinguish between teaching in a language and teaching a language and make no differentiation between violent submersion and planned immersion in a second language.

With regard to the teachers' use of Harakmbut, this is limited and at most amounted to a few words, sometimes strung together ungrammatically. The 1991 teacher of Grades 1 and 2 and Initial used a few words as direct translations of a preceding Spanish word or sentence and most often as a metastatement, for example: "look here!" (yachawai); "write!" (yamandoya); "everyone" (hayanda); and numbers up to four (nonqchinda, mbota, mbapa, mbotambota - Harakmbut does not have numbers over four). The teachers attributed the poor levels of Spanish among their pupils to the general backwardness of the community.

- The Community Developer

Niño Peruano	Peruvian Child
Niño peruano	Peruvian child
ama a tu patria	love your country
ama a tu pueblo	love your community
ama a tu dios	love your God
que Dios es bueno	for God is good
porque te ha dado	because he has given you
tierra de libre	a free land and
tierra de amor.	a land of love
Niño peruano	Peruvian child
se puro y limpio	be pure and spotless
como es el dia	as the day
como es la luz	as the light
que tu bandera sea sagrada	may your flag be sacred
y que tu lema	and your motto
sea virtud.	be virtuous.
Niño peruano	Peruvian child
flor de la selva	flower of the rainforest
odia la guerra	despise war
ama la paz	love peace
ama arrullando	love like the
cual las palomas	cooing doves
aman sus nidos	love their nests,
con todo amor.	full of love.

(Wilfredo's songbook, Grade 4, San José school)

The New General Education Law 23384 of 1982 recognises that teachers have a responsibility to contribute to educational and cultural activities within the community through public and private organisations (Article 11). These organisations include Parents' Associations, Committees for the Orientation and Welfare of the Pupil, and Communal Education Promotion Teams. The teacher's role, according to the 1983 Guide for Communal Educational Promotion in Education Centres, is to draw up formal and non-formal measures oriented towards solving problems in the surrounding community and the nation as a whole. Put more specifically, it is to "contribute to the educational level of the community, to the integration of the family into the community, to improve the environment of the community and promote cultural, recreational and sporting activities" (1983:11). In order to do this two members of the Parents' Association, two Grade 6 pupils and the teacher (in one or two-teacher schools) should form a team which facilitates and directs community development.

The 1992 teachers arrived in the community full of enthusiasm and ready to provide direction for the community. Within days they had made their diagnosis of the school and its pupils: overall poor academic standards, lack of basic maths concepts, unruly and badly behaved in class and lazy and uninterested towards school work. Within weeks they had made their analysis of the community: it "badly needed education to improve the standard of living" (pers. comm. E. Fernandez 31.5.92).

To launch his programm of Communal Education Promotion, the 1992 Director began by calling a community meeting to discuss plans for building latrines for the pupils who had hitherto used, as do the rest of the community, the forest areas beyond the huts. However, those few members of the community who turned up to the meeting rejected this proposal, insisting that latrines would be a source of smell[6]. The

teacher was angry at the poor turn out and that his suggestions met with only negative responses, which frustrated his attempts to work out a community development plan. He called another meeting with parents to discuss behaviour and truancy but the turnout was even lower. The teacher felt helpless as there was no Parents' Association or Committee for Student Orientation and Welfare.

A Parents' Association had been rejected by the community in the past on the grounds that it was divisive in a small village to discriminate between families with school-age children and families without. However, in practice, community members were reluctant to come to any meetings of any nature. The teacher attributed this reluctance to meet as laziness, disinterest, an "unwillingness to be intellectual" and a society lacking in morals as evidenced by bouts of drinking and fighting (pers. com. 24.6.92). Like the 1991 teachers before him, he experienced the educational reality of San José as one where he was locked in a lonely struggle to bring 'modernisation' and a sense of national identity and national pride to a community where all this was lacking.

While the 1992 teachers compared and contrasted the school and the community of San José with their previous teaching posts, the 1991 teachers before them measured the community and school against the non-indigenous settler school at Boca Colorado downriver. Boca Colorado comprises predominantly Mestizo traders, local council employees and a floating population of gold workers. The school boasts an active Parents' Association which not only supports the school by building new classrooms and lobbying the District authorities for equipment and facilities, but also helps the teachers cover their expenses for food and lodgings.

In their continual comparisons of the school, the children and the

community in Boca Colorado with San José, the teachers viewed the differences in terms of degrees of co-operation and common goals. The Arakmbut were seen as being quantitatively less co-operative and sympathetic, and quantitatively more awkward and backward than the Mestizos. However, they did not consider that the cultural and linguistic background of the community might have any bearing on the nature of pupils' and parents' response to the school and to the teachers. The differences they noted between San José and Boca Colorado were clearly not perceived in terms of the Ministry of Education's pronouncements about the richness of Peru as a 'pluricultural country' (DIGEBIL 1989:7). Furthermore, they were not framed in terms of power and status differences between the indigenous community and the Mestizo community and seat of local government. The problems were seen as located in the indigenous students and their indigenous parents (cf. Cummins 1986).

- The Lay-missionary

Quien es Ese?	Who is This?
Quien es ese que camina en las aguas?	Who is This who walks on the water?
Quien es ese que a las sordos hace oir?	Who is this who makes the deaf hear?
Quien es ese que a los muertos rescata?	Who is this who saves the dead?
Quien es ese que su nombre quiero oir?	Who is this whose name I want to hear?
Es Jesús, es Jesús	It is Jesus, it is Jesus
Dios y hombre que nos guia con su luz.	God and man who guides us with his light.
Quien es ese que en las manos lo obedecen?	Who is this who commands obedience?
Quien es ese que a los mudos hace hablar?	Who is this who makes the dumb talk?
Quien es ese que da paz al alma herida	Who is this who sooths the wounded spirit
y pecados con su muerte le perdono?	And pardoned all sins through his death?
Quien es ese que a nosotros ha llegado?	Who is this who has come to us?
Quien es ese salvador y reslentor?	Who is this saviour and redeemer?
Quien es ese que su espiritu nos deja?	Who is this whose spirit is in us?
y tranfigura nuestra vida con su amor?	And transfigures our life with his love?

(Susana's school exercise book, Religious Studies, San José, April 1992)

Despite the additional financial support in Boca Colorado, the backing of parents and facilities such as videos, televisions and canteens (though no running water or sewage), the turnover of teachers was high, and the majority left after one year. This phenomenon was explained by one of the inhabitants of Boca Colorado in terms of the poverty of resources and services provided by the Ministry of Education and the Regional Government, which the members of the Municipal Council and the Parents' Associations fought and campaigned hard to improve. In San José, the teachers lacked facilities such as toilets, washing areas and running water. They cooked on a primus stove or a wood fire in a decaying and leaking kitchen. Yet despite these hardships, the teachers stayed longer than in Boca Colorado and were dedicated to their work. They had their 'mission' and had made their compromise and chosen "with no other commitment, no other illusion but to hand over something of their own lives for the Church which called them" (Misiones Dominicanas n.d.:43). While the teachers felt the support of the Ministry of Education, RESSOP and the community wanting, as lay-missionaries they were also a committed part of the Diocese of Puerto Maldonado and knew they had God's blessing.

By the 1980s, with schools established in individual Harakmbut communities, San José had entered what might be called a second stage in Dominican evangelical development. Having now been contacted, 'pacified' and 'civilised', the spiritual needs and educational requirements of the Arakmbut of San José were entrusted to the lay-missionary teachers while the missionaries themselves turned their attention towards relatively uncontacted Matsigenka and other peoples in the Manu National Park to the east and northeast of Shintuya. So while the missionaries focused on the Matsigenka, who though "lazy and indolent" were considered to be "the most friendly and smiling people in the world" (Misiones

Dominicanas op.cit:17), the lay-missionaries were entrusted with continuing the pastoral work among the Arakmbut who, according to the same source, were "intelligent and able conversationalists and curious, at the same time as being noble in their sentiments and firm in their resolutions" (ibid:12).

The lay-missionary teachers echoed this Dominican classification of indigenous peoples. The Director of the school in Puerto Luz had taught Matsigenka children prior to being posted to Puerto Luz. She had found the Matsigenka open and receptive to school while the Arakmbut had great difficulties learning Spanish which she attributed to their 'firmness of resolve' which she called obstinacy. A San José teacher went as far as to say that the Arakmbut were much more bellicose than the Matsigenka and always eager to get something for nothing, an Arakmbut failing she attributed to a lack of suffering on their part in the past.

The Diocese expected the teachers to minister to the sick but also to concern themselves with the moral and spiritual health of the indigenous community. A thesis written by three Dominican Priests for their professional secondary teaching qualification in 'Religious Education and Orientation, and Student Welfare' presents the Dominican philosophy of pastoral and evangelical care and elucidates their definition of 'culture' and 'cultures':

> The word 'culture' indicates the particular way in which a people cultivate their relationship with nature, among each other and with God (GS 53b). 'Culture' is understood to comprise the total life of a people: the totality of values which animates them and the 'devalues' which debilitate them and participation in which unites them in a 'collective conscience' (Evangelii Nuntiandi 18). Culture also comprises the forms through which these values and 'devalues' are expressed and configured, that is to say, the customs, language, institutions and structure of social co-habitation when these are not impeded or repressed by the intervention of other dominant cultures (Pueblo Document 387) (García et al. 1979:60).

This definition provides two important insights into the Dominican approach to 'culture' and evangelisation. While culture is an expression of peoples' different social relations and relations with nature, the insistence that culture also encompasses different relations with God precludes the possibility of non-monotheistic cosmological beliefs. Christianity is dealt with as if it were a 'metaculture' (Burridge 1991), an overarching belief system within which there is cultural variation in the way in which the one Deity is recognised and worshipped. In this context the declaration by the 1992 school Director that he proceeded with his Catholic proselytisation in San José with "great respect for Arakmbut beliefs" was not contradictory for him, although his knowledge of Arakmbut spirituality was negligible[7].

Within the Dominican conceptual framework, indigenous culture is something very generalised across ethnic groups:

> The situation of the other human groups who inhabit the Madre de Dios, such as the Huarayos, Machiguengas and Piros, is very similar to the Harakmbut, given that the socio-economic and cultural contexts are similar (García et al. op. cit:10).

This assertion suggests that García et al. have taken only a very superficial definition of what comprises a socio-economic and cultural context, which in turn has implications for a Dominican approach to intercultural and bilingual education (as discussed in Chapter 9). Furthermore it flies in the face of extensive anthropological literature which illustrates profound differences in the belief systems, social structure and social organisation of these different ethnic groups (cf. Rosengren 1987; Gray 1983; G. Burr pers. comm. 7.92).

The other important insight which García et al. provide is concerned with the relationship between 'cultures' and 'dominant cultures'. They refer to the Puebla Document which indicates that (small, indigenous) cultures only have any integrity when they are

untouched by dominant cultures. In the case of the Harakmbut, their socio-economic analysis provides evidence of a situation where the Harakmbut have been heavily 'contaminated' by the 'dominant culture' through land invasions, immigration and exploitation. Furthermore, they are seen as having been corrupted and their ethnic identity and family cohesion reduced to crisis point by the feudal/mercantile system (García et al. op.cit:117). The focus of the Dominican pastoral policy, García et al. therefore conclude, has to be on the crisis attacking the institution of the family, which is considered to be the basis of Harakmbut society, as witnessed by a high incidence of marital separation, infant mortality, women running away into domestic service and prostitution, and absence of sexual norms and controls (ibid:50-51).

The Director and teacher who came to San José in 1992 had both attended Seminary College and had been training to become priest and nun respectively until they met each other and decided to marry. The Director expressed horror at the lack of morality he found in the community. Proceeding "with great respect for their beliefs", he insisted that he was not trying to force his religion on them but following their needs for a better life. Within his belief in Christianity as a 'meta-religion', he understood morality as something prescribed by God and manifest in such things as internal self-control. He found the community lacking in self-control and full of "original sin" as evidenced in the high incidence of "marital separation", drinking and fighting. There were some pupils whose persistent silence in class and apparent inability to follow a lesson he interpreted as learning difficulties resulting from parental behaviour ("drinking and other problems").

In his open condemnation of Arakmbut culture and society the lay-missionary was continuing the Dominican traditional of 'cultural

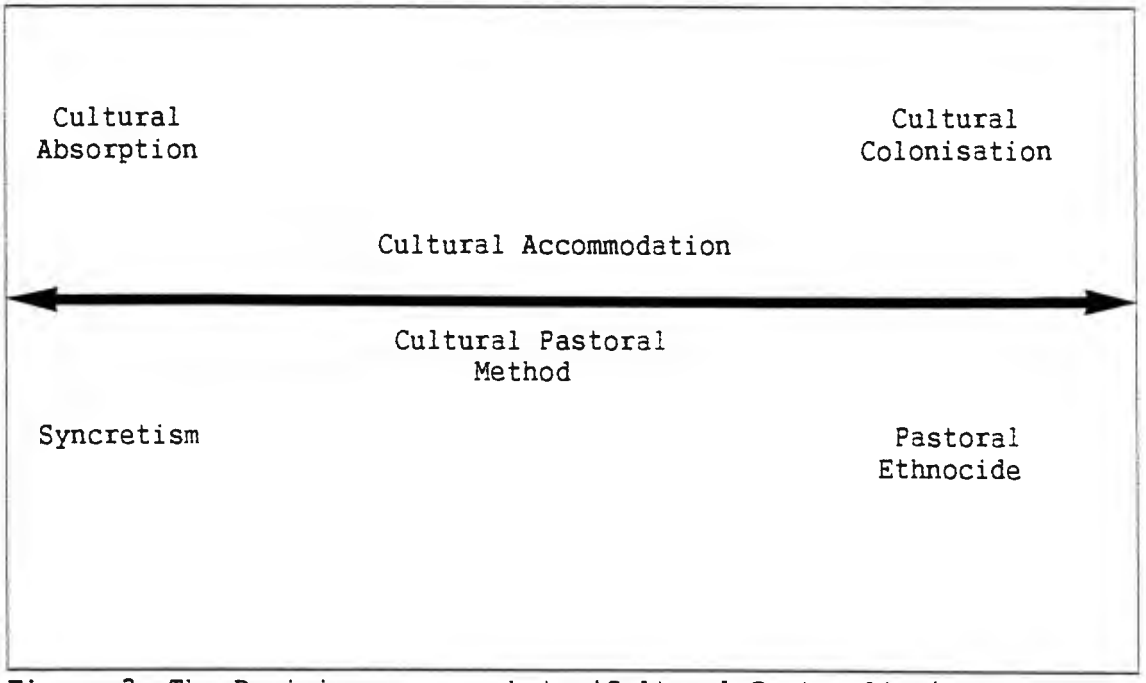


Figure 3: The Dominican approach to 'Cultural Pastoralism'

colonisation' (Pickering 1992:104) of the Arakmbut (see Figure 3). Nevertheless, Garcia et al. warn against the extremes of cultural colonisation, which they call 'pastoral ethnocide' (Garcia et al. op. cit:83) and advocate a measure of sensitivity towards local culture in order to evaluate it and decide which parts of it can be utilised for the evangelisation process and what can be ignored (Pickering op. cit.:104). However, they warn strongly against too much cultural accommodation and the dangers and evils of syncretism. Their midway strategy, the 'cultural pastoral method' is designed on the basis of the analysis they have made of Harakmbut culture (Garcia et al.ibid:140) (cf. Figure 3).

However, the analysis itself is based on a questionable definition of 'culture'. Not content with understanding culture as a 'totality of values which animates a people' in the way Tylor uses the term (see Chapter 1), the Dominicans take on board the concept of 'devalues' and in doing so introduce a judgemental perspective on 'culture' and values. In the Harakmbut case, native values and 'devalues' are further

complicated by the introduction of the 'devalues' of the pernicious 'dominant culture'. Consequently, they believe that the way to combat this devalued situation and to reach the "fundamental values of the culture" (García et al. op. cit.:61) is through Christian evangelisation and the "transformation of forms, functions and structures opposed to the message of God" (ibid:135). The Dominican pastoral method calls for respect for the native culture based on a tautological analysis.

To the 1992 school Director, San José presented a 'culture' riddled with devalues which he had been left to tackle single-handed. The Diocese had abandoned him to this mission. Abandoned by the education system, by RESSOP and obstructed by the community, he sought his comfort and strength directly from God.

Strategies for Coping

In such isolated conditions the teachers developed strategies for coping and continuing. Unlike teachers working in urban or less remote rural areas, the San José teachers both worked and lived in the community. They relied on the community for fresh foodstuffs, for transport and for social company. In the absence of money with which to secure these important goods and provisions, establishing and maintaining good relations with members of the community was vital. The two sets of teachers employed two distinct approaches: the 1991 teachers established formal relationships with selected individuals in the community, and b) the 1992 teachers institutionalised relationships between themselves and the community which emphasised separation and social distancing.

The first approach involved formalising relations between individuals through 'compadrazgo' or godparenthood. Compadrazgo is a form of ritual kinship linked with sponsorship of some celebration,

often baptism[8]. In proposing to become godparent to a child, or accepting an offer of compadrazgo, a whole range of responsibilities are established between the godparent and the child's parents. In San José the 1991 teachers utilised compadrazgo for establishing alliances with certain families and individuals who had been to Dominican boarding school in the 1960s and were familiar with the obligations of compadrazgo, though not necessarily the ability to use it to their advantage.

Over the years these teachers had nurtured a group of 'comadres' and 'compadres' who formed a ritual kin network which could be mobilised for support for school initiatives, activities and policies. In this way they alleviated their potentially isolated situation. Teachers' educational services rendered to their god-children were rewarded by a supply of fresh agricultural produce and hunted meat and fish, supplies which were otherwise only available in the community through kinship ties. In return for repairing the generator for the Diocesan radio when it broke and providing transport to Boca Colorado, the teachers would bring items from Cusco, Maldonado or further afield. On one occasion a teacher brought a dog from Arequipa for her compadres.

The teachers did not limit compadrazgo relations to within the community but also established a network of compadres in Boca Colorado and Puerto Maldonado. Moreover, they used the system on behalf of the school to find individuals with the financial means to act as sponsor at sports day or graduation day such as traders or local government officials[9]. However, the complaints about the 1991 teachers (which are discussed in the following chapter) indicate how their manipulation of the compadrazgo system was fallible.

The other approach to establishing relations with the community involves utilising the hierarchical system of the non-indigenous

institutions of the school and the Church. The 1992 Director chose to emphasise the social distance between himself and the community by stressing his position as Director of the school and demanding respect. The Director of an Education Centre has an official stamp for endorsing letters and other kinds of paperwork just as the President of a Native Community has an official stamp for endorsing community correspondence. A President and a Director may work together mutually reinforcing their positions and the positions of their offices. However, the Director who attempted to take this approach in San José found himself up against considerable obstacles, not the least being the absence of an official stamp. More fundamentally, by taking this approach he misjudged the social importance of non-Arakmbut institutions in San José, as well as the relative powerlessness of the community President within the community without the backing of non-office holding elders[10].

This chapter has provided an insight into the 'reality' of the school from the perspectives of the lay-missionary teachers in San José. It has provided a picture of the aims and purpose with which they imbue their educational and religious work in the school and the community as well as an insight into their frustrations and isolation. While the Educational Proposal for Madre de Dios talks of adapting the curriculum to suit the reality of the educational setting, we must now ask "whose reality?" From the RESSOP teachers' perspective the reality is trying to teach in a community that is itself desperately in need of change. Though the resourcing of the school is a problem, they nevertheless conceive their main obstacle to achieving this change as the members of the community themselves and their lack of 'modernity' and 'development'. The teachers' main strategy to try to achieve this transformation is to ensure that the school provides as 'modern' an environment for the children as possible. This entails the exclusion of

the Harakmbut language as a legitimate means of communication in the classroom and the suppression of Arakmbut cultural practices from the educational process.

This chapter has illustrated the subjection and powerlessness of pupils in the school because of this exclusive regime and the teacher domination and control over the legitimation of knowledge, communication and evaluation. This education is far removed from the bilingual and bicultural education desired by ANPIBAC and advocated by FENAMAD and the indigenous movement worldwide. ANPIBAC calls for an empowering education where indigenous peoples not only participate in all aspects of the education but determine what is legitimate knowledge, communication and evaluation. This can be viewed schematically in Table 1 in terms of four characteristics which Cummins (1986) considers crucial for an empowering (ANPIBAC type) education rather than a disempowering (what he calls 'disabling') education for minority language (and culture) pupils:

Table: 1 Characteristics of the Educational Environment of San José School (after Baker 1993)

CHARACTERISTICS	EMPOWERED MINORITY CHILDREN	DISABLED MINORITY CHILDREN	SAN José CHILDREN
Home language and culture	Incorporated in the school	Excluded from the school	Excluded from the school
Community participation in children's schooling	Community participation and collaboration	Community non-participation and exclusion	Community non-participation and exclusion
Orientation of curriculum	Interactive and reciprocal dialogue	Passive transmission of knowledge	Passive transmission of an alien world view
Assessment and diagnosis	Poor academic achievement explained in terms of social and educational context	Poor academic attainment explained in terms of the individual	Poor academic achievement explained in terms of the individual and his/her community

Nevertheless, while the San José school has all the characteristics of a disempowering and 'disabling' education, there are certain processes at

work within the community which neutralise the influence of the teachers and the education they promote. As the following chapters illustrate, neither the San José school pupils nor the community as a whole is powerless in the face of the formal education system.

Footnotes

1. In order to distinguish between the two sets of teachers working in San Jose school over my fieldwork period from 1991 to 1992, I refer to them as '1991 teachers' and '1992 teachers', though the 1991 Director had been teaching in that community since 1983.

2. Three types of teachers are distinguished in Peru according to academic qualifications: Category I have degrees in education and are divided into eight levels; Category II have a degree in a subject other than education; and Category III 'third class teachers' have no higher education only secondary schooling. The last group are found predominantly in rural areas and although there are no official categories for types of school, the qualifications of the teacher or teachers tends to label the school (Tovar 1989:58).

3. I will make several references in this section to Tovar's (1989) work which was a comparative study with three other Latin American countries as part of the Major Project. Tovar provides a detailed and illuminative study of the situation of Peruvian rural teachers, albeit confined to marginalised urban and Andean schools.

4. One Grade 5 pupil made only very rare appearances in the school, yet he appeared daily in the attendance statistics. According to Peruvian law inattendance of more than 30 per cent in a school year prohibits a child moving up a grade. The 1991 Director knew that such a rigid approach to her pupils would discourage children from continuing in school. Many families took their children out of school for weeks at a time while they went to live in temporary fishing or gold working camps in other parts of their territory.

5. Transcription (from Spanish) of the language exam for Grade 4 pupils.

Language Exam
1. What is a verb?
2. Write 4 sentences in the past tense.
3. Write 4 sentences in the present tense.
4. Write 4 sentences in the future tense.
5. Conjugate the following verbs:
to recite to conform
to leave to become sad
to suffer to cultivate
to receive to scatter

6. I suggest that this response resulted from the community's experience of the few latrines and toilets that exist in Madre de Dios, which are putrid.

7. An elderly woman died in San Jose soon after his arrival and the community was abandoned for several hours in order that the spirit which had taken her might come and leave its footprint on ashes prepared by the head of her grave. He interpreted this ritual as a belief in the afterlife among the Arakmbut and proof of the all-encompassing character of Christianity. However, he had no understanding of the nature of that afterlife, or of the interrelationship between the visible and the invisible worlds of the Arakmbut (which is detailed in Chapter 6).

8. Compadrazgo is an institution which was established by the Catholic Church and brought to Latin America by the Spanish, though in the Andean region the relations of ritual sponsorship may have possible pre-conquest origins (cf. Skar 1979). For the majority of the Arakmbut the relationship is an alien one full of responsibilities and compromises that are not always clear. Quechua gold miners or patrons will typically encroach on San Jose territory and claim immunity through a compadrazgo relationship with someone in the community and thereby claim impunity. For more details on the use of compadrazgo among the Arakmbut see Rummenhöller 1985.

9. I was asked to be comadre to the Grade 6 students at their graduation in 1992. This involved buying a present for each of the students and being a guest of honour at the graduation ceremony. That particular graduation and Grade 6 was called after me (as well as Andrew Gray and Robbie) and I was henceforth the students' benefactor.

10. These officials are the primary means through which the national authorities, local authorities, educational officials, traders and gold panners relate to the Native Communities (Rosengren 1987). They are considered to be key decision-makers and representatives of the community, which in fact they are not (cf. p.129).

CHAPTER 5: AN ARAKMBUT PERSPECTIVE ON SCHOOLING

Although the San José teachers found the members of the community at times uncooperative, unsympathetic and even obstructive to their aims as teachers and missionaries, the community has consistently been unanimous in its desire to have a school and particularly a RESSOP school with lay-missionary teachers. At the VII Congress of FENAMAD, the San José representatives lodged the community's concern for the quality of its school buildings but failed to be impressed by the call for intercultural bilingual education.

Their dismissal of intercultural bilingual education partly derives from their conception of what formal education and schooling are and which, in turn, derives from their experience in the mission of Shintuya in the 1950s and 1960s. Through their experience of Dominican schools, education for the Arakmbut of San José has become synonymous with the Spanish language, Mestizo teachers and 'Peruvian' culture. The Boca Colorado school confirms this perception and the traders and colonists reinforce the Dominican emphasis on school as bringing "education and Spanish to the poor ignorant and deprived natives" (pers. comm. Mestizo Trader, Puerto Luz 24.11.91).

The first section of this chapter looks at the importance of the school and formal education for the Arakmbut and at the aspects of the schooling process with which they concern themselves. The second section looks at the way in which, despite their desire for the school, the community has constructed a metaphorical wall which separates the school from the community and vice versa. Although the 'wall' acts as a barrier to all communication between the teachers and the members of the community, the degree of penetrability of the 'wall' differs between groups within Arakmbut society. The final section considers the San José

Arakmbut in terms of three groups according to their relations with the teachers, the degree to which they communicate across the 'wall' and their own level of formal education.

Community Perceptions of the San José School and Teachers

- The School as a Symbol of 'Civilisation'

One of the most important aspects of the non-indigenous settlements on the rivers around San José is the school. 'Boca Pukiri', a settlement of traders and gold workers illegally established on San José territory, has built a school and hired a teacher to serve the families living in houses and shacks by the river bank. Though the colonists have no legal rights to live on the land and the Ministry of Education states that they must have Arakmbut approval for the school, the settlement remains. The Arakmbut's rights to their territory are openly flaunted.

In past years colonists living within the territory of the Arakmbut community of Barranco Chico have sent their children to the community school. However, dissatisfied with the quality of education being provided there and in the absence of a school of their own, parents are choosing to send their children to school in Cusco. This highlights one of the fundamental differences between the Arakmbut and the colonists. The majority of colonists consider their stay in the rainforest as only temporary and would return to the highlands if economic prospects there improved. They do not identify themselves with the Amazon, in contrast to the Arakmbut whose whole identity is bound up with a specific territory.

For the non-indigenous population in the Madre de Dios and among the burgeoning colonist population in the Karene river, school is equated with 'civilisation', and being 'educated' equated with being

'civilised' and 'getting on' (pers. comm. radio operator, Boca Colorado, 30.3.92). The colonists and traders talk disparagingly about the newly formed Matsigenka community of Samaninonteni in the headwaters of the Karene and say it cannot not be a 'real' community because it lacks a school. For the Arakmbut of both San José and Puerto Luz, having a school is an important symbol of their equality with the colonists[1].

In the early 1970s the community of San José built its own school from local 'rustic' materials. However, after the arrival of the RESSOP lay-missionary teachers, a 'noble' building was erected by the Ministry of Education to national standard specifications with a corrugated iron roof, a concrete floor and painted blue (see Figure 2, p.68). This symbolised equality for the San José school. It was no longer inferior to that in Boca Colorado. By 1991, however, this building was in decay and the Regional government approved money for a new building. After months of lobbying by the community and FENAMAD, the materials arrived at Boca Colorado. However, the Mayor of Boca Colorado had other plans for the corrugated iron, the boxes of nails, and the pots of paint and he would not hand them over. Until the materials were in San José the contractor could not arrive to begin the construction work.

The Arakmbut made two futile trips to secure the release of the materials from the Mayor and the municipal council when the latter were too drunk to converse civilly. On the third attempt the Mayor disappeared down river to Puerto Maldonado (where he was being sought on corruption and embezzlement charges) and could not be contacted. The Arakmbut from San José and Puerto Luz eventually decided to take matters into their own hands. On April 1st, 1992, they broke down the doors to the Municipality offices with battering rams and simply took the materials, while a few members of the council looked on speechless and powerless and the inhabitants of Boca Colorado looked on in fear and awe

at this act of defiance.

This incident illustrates the extremes to which the Arakmbut had to go to get what was theirs by right as well as the total disregard with which the local government officials have for them. This act of defiance left the Arakmbut in fear of reprisals from the military and the police as well as from the missionaries whom they knew would interpret their act as a 'delito', a transgression. Nevertheless, their humiliating treatment by the local authorities reinforced their determination to have a 'noble' school, which had become a question of achieving justice and equality[2].

- School as a Forum for Learning Spanish

School is also seen as a means of 'learning Spanish' and of "entering fully into the life of the nation" as the Dominicans have preached since the 1950s (cf. Chapter 3). A lack of knowledge of Spanish still carries the stigma of being 'uncivilised' and 'ignorant' as well as a feeling of inferiority vis-à-vis the 'wahaipis' (non-indigenous people)[3], though among the oldest generation who do not speak Spanish there is an sense of defiance. The Spanish language facilitates inter-ethnic relations for the Arakmbut which fall into two main areas: economic activities and defence of indigenous rights.

Gold panning activities in San José are oriented to the Spanish language. While most people work gold in extended families, a few employ gold workers (peones) with whom they communicate exclusively in Spanish. Many of the peones are Quechua highlanders and themselves can neither read nor write Spanish. There are no formal contracts between peon and Arakmbut and no written documents. All communication is oral.

At Boca Colorado the Arakmbut verbally negotiate the sale of their gold and the purchase of petrol, foodstuffs and beer. They do all

calculations mentally and orally, though most rely on reading the current exchange rate for gold which is written on blackboards outside the canteens and stores which deal directly in gold. Numeracy in Spanish is also important for the Arakmbut and school introduces them to mathematical concepts and written arithmetic. However, the arithmetical calculations which the Arakmbut use at Boca Colorado are oral methods learned in the practical oral settings of the informal gold economy at the trading post of Boca Colorado[4].

When, as frequently happens, conflicts arise over the occupation and ownership of beaches and gold panning sites between the Arakmbut and the wahaipi, heated altercations take place and the Arakmbut need to be able to argue the legitimacy of their position, defend what is theirs with conviction and challenge the invaders. This also demands an understanding of the Law of Native Communities and the current regulations and law on mining which only a few members of the community have.

Most Arakmbut have contact with Spanish-speaking wahaipis from time to time. When a travelling salesman arrives at the small harbour to sell clothes, bread and other foodstuffs, the community is subject to a Spanish which is imbued with flattery, manipulation and even deceit and coercion on the part of the salesman wanting to sell his wares. Occasionally a salesman arrives with a video machine and portable petrol generator and most people squeeze into the largest hut in the community to watch foreign videos. The language register with which they are confronted varies considerably from the Spanish which they hear at Boca Colorado both in grammar, vocabulary and social context. Frequently, though, the videos are in English with Spanish subtitles. While 65 per cent of the community attended or are still attending school, only a very small minority can grasp even a few words as the subtitles fly by,

although no one usually bothers to try.

Social interaction through the medium of Spanish is therefore overwhelmingly oral. On occasions when a family sells its gold, the younger schooled members will act as 'mediators' for the older members of the family, translating and reporting the conversation back to those who are making the decisions in Harakmbut. Such translating requires dexterity in switching between the two languages as well as the ability to precis the points of the Spanish conversation in Harakmbut.

There are also occasions when reading and writing are called for. The Municipal Council at Boca Colorado relate to the Arakmbut of San José through the elected office bearers of the Native Community. In San José, of the men elected to the positions of Community President, Secretary, Treasurer etc. (there have been no women to date) all have some schooling and a degree of fluency in spoken Spanish. Nevertheless, the help of the school teacher is often elicited in order to understand official letters and compose replies or invitations.

In order to participate in FENAMAD, Spanish is vital as it is the language common to at least some members of all the communities from the 17 different language groups. The Federation sends letters and directives to the communities, assists them in their campaigns and helps with the composition of oral and written documents. The Eori Centre, an environmental and non-governmental support organisation in Puerto Maldonado, provides legal advice and support as well as technical and professional help in cases where specialist skills are required, for example in composing a letter to the Ministry of Transport concerning the registration of Arakmbut canoes for use on the rivers.

Thus for the community, the school is there to teach Spanish and, with this language facility, the Arakmbut hope to achieve and maintain parity in all their dealings with the colonists, whether these be

extending business relations or trying to maintain and ensure a boundary between the community and the illegal settlers. The extent to which the school carries out this task competently, and the extent to which it is the most appropriate forum for this, is not questioned by the community (but is discussed in Chapter 8).

- The School as a Forum for Writing

Although the members of San José want their children to learn Spanish and to attend school, their interest in how this is achieved appears to go no further than ensuring that they attend when possible and that there is a roof over their heads to keep off the sun and the rain while they are in attendance. Adults and parents make no mention of other skills or areas of content and knowledge which they expect the school to impart. Nevertheless, the Arakmbut have clear notions about what is legitimate teaching and learning.

In Harakmbut the word used for the school, for the process of learning and for the activities that take place inside the school, is formed from the root of the word 'e'mandoya' (to write). Prior to their move to Shintuya in the 1950s, the word 'ondoya' was used to refer to any linear or graphic representation such as painting and decorating the body and the designs on ceramic pots. With the advent of the school and the demise of body painting in Shintuya the word e'mandoya was coined for writing and 'e'mamboya' for drawing. E'mandoya (noun omandoya) has also become synonymous with school as the Arakmbut experienced and knew it in Shintuya and other mission schools. A person who attends school is a 'wamandoyeri'. A wamandoyeri sits in a classroom at a desk and follows instructions to write and copy. School is not playing football or volleyball outside the classroom and San José mothers remove their children from school if they discover them doing physical activities.

E'mandoya is a cerebral activity and not a productive activity like 'e'mba'a', which is used to refer to active, physical work such as clearing gardens and working gold, or 'e'ka'a', which refers to physical and skilled work such as hunting, fishing and to sexual activity.

Being successful in terms of school and the e'mandoya activity is predominantly seen in terms of passing grades. Children can fail grades because they miss school and have not had enough e'mandoya to pass grades. When told at the end of term that her ten year old son would have to repeat Grade 3, one mother said that she was to blame as she had taken him out of school to accompany the family to their gold camp. She was concerned with the quantity of e'mandoya he had been exposed to rather than specific lessons he had missed. He had not had enough exposure to what parents refer without differentiation as e'mandoya[5].

When asked about what their children were learning in school, parents often answered in terms of passing or failing grades. However, some parents said that they did not know what their children were learning, and others that they were learning nothing. Parents of children in this last group were generally those whose children had had to repeat first and second grades several times. On the whole, however, Arakmbut do not talk about the school or schooling. An exception to this concerns the 'Initial' class from which mothers withdraw their children soon after enrolment saying that they believe young children (aged 3-5) should be with them, not in school.

- The School as Synonymous with 'Authority' and 'Control'

E'mandoya is also an activity which reinforces the teacher's authority and control. At the end-of-year school concert, one of the students playing the wolf in an enactment of Little Red Riding Hood was shy and spoke her words quietly. In the middle of the performance the

teacher stormed up to the child, hauled her across the floor by her shoulder and ordered her to talk louder. The teacher's behaviour was accepted by the parents.

Although parents' are unaware of the details of the schooling to which their children are subject in the classroom, this does not mean that they are unaware of what goes on in school. Almost all parents today have themselves been subject to Dominican mission schooling and their apparent disinterest may be interpreted more in terms of an unwillingness to become too deeply involved in something they consider necessary but which at the same time conjures up unpleasant memories.

During my fieldwork period, parents were reluctant to talk about their own schooling. Those who did venture some information spoke only of corporal punishment and the indignities they suffered. Parents experienced school as humiliating and a place where everything familiar and Arakmbut was belittled. School had quickly labelled the majority of these parents as failures and they had dropped out. Since then they had not allowed school to impinge upon their lives. One woman acknowledged having been to mission school, but could not remember where or when, the experience being so remote from the life she had pursued since that she had erased the unpleasant years she spent at Shintuya school from her memory.

School for parents in San José is bound up with the qualities of control, authoritarianism and disregard for Arakmbut culture and society. At the closing ceremony of the 1991 academic year, approximately 60 per cent of parents attended but only after a long delay while children were sent to the gardens to fetch their mothers and fathers to the meeting. At the meeting the Director took the opportunity to harangue those present for not paying their debts which accrued to them for pencils and exercise books. For some families with several

children in school the sum amounted to between 50 and 80 Soles (50-80 US$). She also aired her disapproval of the parents who were not in attendance by admonishing those present. The parents sat huddled together at one end of the 'noble' classroom while the teachers sat at the opposite end of the room behind a desk and a folder of papers. After the Director's speech she handed out pass and fail grade certificates to the parents: the teachers were in sole charge and control of the academic success and failure of the community's children.

The teachers' relationships are authoritative and controlling not only with the school children, as we saw in the previous chapter, but also with their parents and all other members of the community. The lay-missionary teachers receive their legitimacy for their tasks in the belief that they are the bearers of a superior knowledge. What is considered highly valued and superior knowledge by the dominant decision-making sectors of Peruvian society is enshrined in the school (including the Catholic religion) and a standard against which the teachers, as the representatives of the school, compare all other knowledge (Young 1971:32). Not only does all this that happens within the classroom centre on this 'superior' culture, but the teachers' relations with the community in general are characterised by their attempts to assert this 'superior knowledge' and 'ideological hegemony' over the Arakmbut.

This hierarchical and authoritative relationship established by the teachers is complemented by a sense of moral and spiritual superiority with which their religious calling and the Dominican mission endows them. They consider it their duty to voice their disapproval over Arakmbut areas of life such as standards of hygiene, type of diet and curing methods especially those which run counter to scientific medical practices, such as treating snake bites by dehydrating the patient. They

are openly disapproving to adults of what they perceive as pre-marital promiscuity and incidence of marital separation. They talk of the Harakmbut language as a 'dialect' perpetuating the myth that the Amazon languages are dialects of Quechua rather than distinct languages in their own right, and talk of 'customs' (costumbres) and 'beliefs' ('creencias') rather than society and religion, which deprive Arakmbut socio-cultural life and language of any status in a Peruvian context. The teachers make no attempt to hide their derision for Arakmbut knowledge which they consider inferior to their own.

As a result, parents, and adults in general, are hesitant to enter the school which is a building associated with the teachers, who also hold the key to the padlocked door. Parents attend parents' meetings only very reluctantly. Similarly, many adults will not linger as they pass the teachers' house, which is situated by one of the paths out of the village, for fear of being accosted by them and given a chore to do or an errand to run. The school is considered by parents as the exclusive concern of the teachers and their physical and intellectual domain. Parents' reluctance to talk about the school reflects both its unimportance for them in their Arakmbut lives but the subordinate position any contact with the school or the teachers puts them in.

Therefore, using Cummins' terminology (see Table 1, p.105), we can say that parents' relationship towards their children's schooling is non-participative, thus contributing to the disempowerment of the children in the classroom. The misunderstanding and miscommunication that exists between teachers and community can be grasped in terms of the relationship between the teachers as representatives of what Althusser calls an 'ideological state apparatus' (Callinicos 1976:64) and the Arakmbut as members of a completely egalitarian, non-hierarchical and non-institutionalised society.

The Barrier to Understanding and Communication between Teachers and Community

The teachers see the community's main role in the school, apart from caring from the fabric of the building, as attending meetings and school activities, such as the closing ceremony, paying their debts for stationary items, and raising money for the school at the annual fund raising event, the 'kermesse'. A kermesse is traditionally an occasion when teachers and parents work together to put on a 'school fair' or 'sale of work' or some other activity to raise funds for the school. In Arakmbut communities the kermesse has become an occasion to invite other communities to play football, buy food and dance to imported music. However, the 1991 kermesse in San José became the focus for friction between the community and the teachers.

In October 1991, the San José teachers began to plan the annual kermesse and called a meeting of parents. However, several members of the community including the President, were angry because, not having children of school age themselves, they were excluded. So, instead, they announced that the kermesse would not be run by the teachers as a fund-raising event for the school, but that the President and other office bearers would run it on a bigger scale for general community funds. Consequently, the teachers decided that, like the other women in San José, they would make and sell food. This would cover their boat fare down river at the end of term.

However, the sale of food for their own profit outraged the entire community to the great shock of the teachers. The President seized the opportunity to order them to leave the community but, as this demand was not shared by all and in particular not by their compadres, the teachers declined to go. Nevertheless, the incident deeply unsettled them. They interpreted the community's reaction against them as greedy, in that the

Arakmbut wanted all the money from the sale of food for themselves, and uncaring and insensitive towards the great efforts and sacrifices the teachers felt they made to keep the school running on their behalf. As a result of this incident, tensions increased between the teachers and the President's extended family.

This incident illustrates a gulf in communication between the teachers and the community and the problems that can arise through culturally incongruent interpretations of behaviour and actions. It also illustrates the complex relations which have developed between the Arakmbut and the missionaries over their forty years of contact, and which are now played out through the relations between community and lay-missionary teachers. In particular, it provides an insight into the conflicting perspectives of the teachers' lives and conditions in San José held by the teachers themselves (as detailed in the previous chapter) and the community.

Members of the community seem unaware of many of the frustrations and humiliations to which the teachers considered themselves subject. The community perceives the teachers as part of the Dominican mission enterprise and continuing the tradition of authoritarian mission controlled relations with the community. The community is aware of the imported food on which the teachers rely throughout the academic year and their material possessions, such as the Diocesan short wave radio, the quality of their clothes and their supplies of antibiotics and first aid equipment, and consider these indicative of a financial wealth and a purchasing power which far exceeds their own. Congruent with the teachers' presentation of themselves as bearers of a superior way of life and role models for the benefits of civilisation and capitalist development (Wahl 1987) (which the Arakmbut have to emulate and adopt in order to achieve salvation), the community witnesses the respect and

deference with which they are treated by traders and colonists at Boca Colorado. Consequently, they find the teachers' pleas of poverty quite unbelievable and unacceptable.

The members of the community are always being reminded by the teachers of how bountiful the Diocese is. For example, when a supply of flour and dried peas arrived, it was presented to the Arakmbut "thanks to the Padre and his kindness for taking the trouble to procure it for the school children" (pers. comm. Yolanda Guzman 10.91). The Arakmbut found nothing unusual in this; the missionaries have been bountiful since they first met in the 1950s. What they do find contradictory and unacceptable is that, despite the Bishop's bounty, the teachers present them with bills for their children's annual consumption of exercise books and pencils. The image of RESSOP teachers being without resources contradicts the message and the teachings which the Dominicans have been preaching since the Arakmbut were first lured from their malocas with gifts of knives, clothes and tobacco by Padre Alvarez.

According to the Arakmbut notion of giving and taking, a person who gives receives prestige. In Arakmbut society a hunter distributes his meat and wins prestige from his clan and the community. The more he has to distribute, the more generous he can be and the greater is his reputation as a hunter and his standing in the community. A shaman (wayorokeri) chants and cures and receives prestige and respect for using his knowledge and skills to cure. Today, as well as distributing meat, an Arakmbut who has found a relatively productive gold panning area will spend his gold on beer for the community, which thus acts as a levelling and equalising mechanism on the accumulation of monetary wealth between extended families. This 'potlatch' approach to the acquisition of money and hunted meat is one of the few ways of earning status in Arakmbut society[6].

The Dominicans are accorded prestige and status because of their gifts, such as clothes, food, blessings, Christenings, western medicines or the school. The Arakmbut receive all these gifts and make what use of them they can. Few pass up the chance to have their children Christened because there may be some tangible benefit to be accrued from this in the future. In the same way the Arakmbut are willing to accept western medicines to try to cure illnesses. If they fail to cure then it is because the sickness was not brought by God and is beyond the power of God's medicines to do so and both the cure and the sickness lie within the realm of the invisible Arakmbut world.

The school is another 'gift' from the Dominicans. The Arakmbut have never asked for a school but it has always been provided and they now consider it an integral part of the Dominican presence in their territory. Consequently, they have no reason to suppose that the school will cease to be provided: if there are problems with the teachers, then the Diocese will provide new ones. The Dominicans introduced the Arakmbut to 'civilisation' and 'Peruvian society' and have provided them with access to it through the school and its teaching of the Spanish language. The Arakmbut consider that they have a right to the school and the teachers and a right to be educated and thus avoid the potential state of savagery which is so distasteful to the missionaries and is now distasteful to them.

However, at the kermesse the teachers had suddenly become takers rather than givers. To the community it appeared that the teachers were trying to avoid their obligations. On the one hand, the teachers did not give with the same magnanimity as the Padres and the Bishop, and they were consequently accorded less status by the community accordingly. On the other hand, the teachers obviously had more materials goods than the community and received a salary from the Ministry of Education. Unless

they distributed this income and their goods in a more equal way and 'potlatched' with the community, then they could not be treated as equals and they could not compete with the women of the community in the sale of food for money.

Arakmbut sensitivity over money was also complicated by the way in which the Dominicans have always exercised control over money matters, be it the wages earned for lumbering in Shintuya[7] or waving the annual school registration fee. Such transactions have always been controlled by the Dominicans on behalf of the 'natives'. This lack of direct control over the monetary results of their labours and money transactions incubated a suspicion of their potential exploitation by all Dominicans whether missionaries or lay-missionary teachers.

The School Wall: Limiting Arakmbut Influence or Controlling Teacher Power?

Through the hierarchical relations which the teachers impose on the community based on the superiority of Peruvian culture and everything from the 'outside', and by denying the legitimacy of Arakmbut culture and knowledge, the teachers have effectively constructed a barrier between the school and the community. By means of this barrier they keep all that is Arakmbut out of the school so that the school has become the sole focus for all that is western and 'good', and so that the teachers can carry out their educational tasks on children uncontaminated and unhampered by Arakmbut cultural practices and knowledge. The high blank walls of the school represent a barrier which separates the two distinct cultural domains[8]: inside the walls is the school domain characterised by hierarchical relations and mechanisms of control; outside the wall is the Arakmbut domain.

The members of the community want their children to have schooling

and learn Spanish which are important signs of equality with other 'civilised' people. All but the oldest members of society, however, have already undergone this civilising process in their youth and experienced the hierarchical, authoritarian and ethnocidal nature of school and teacher. Consequently, they try to limit their encounters with this school domain in order to limit these unpleasant experiences.

However, as Chapter 4 illustrated, the teachers also see their educational task as transforming the adult members of the community and their social and cultural practices and relations. But the teachers' attempts at this are frustrated by the community's unwillingness to co-operate, just as the missionaries' attempts to change the Arakmbut into peasant farmers in Shintuya and to get them to "cast aside their sinful and immoral ways and heathen beliefs" (cf. p. 54) failed. Then the different Arakmbut groups left Shintuya and the overwhelming confines of the mission. The adult members of San José consider active attempts to 'de-educate' or 're-educate' them as beyond the school's mandate.

The Arakmbut have only a limited need for what the school and the teachers offer them. Unlike schools in societies which are more integrated into the capitalist system, the primary school in San José does not provide an education seen in terms of future employment opportunities or escaping unemployment and low status work. The ability to support a family and gain respect is not achieved through the school but through mechanisms in the Arakmbut cultural domain. Furthermore, the Arakmbut do not need the school or the knowledge it offers as a means and focus of community cohesion. Gow presents a very different situation in communities of mixed ethnicity in the Lower Urubamba where the school and the community land titles, both introduced over the last forty years, constitute the main focus of community organisation (Gow, 1988).

In the community of Santa Clara, which comprises Ashaninka, Piro

and Mestizo, the members consider themselves 'native people' in contrast to communities living more 'traditional' lives away from the main riverways who were referred to as 'forest people' or 'wild Indians' (ibid:12). The Dominicans run the Spanish-language school which is concerned exclusively with knowledge from 'outside'. The most powerful knowledge is considered to come from the 'outside', particularly from Europe and the US (ibid:246) from where Dominicans and SIL missionaries originate respectively. With a history of centuries of exploitation and recent enslavement by lumberers (a threat which still hangs over many people in the region) these 'native people' equate a lack of 'civilised outside knowledge' with the possibility of further enslavement as well as danger of attack from demons (ibid:248).

While Gow states that school is important because it "represents the transformation of children in Native Communities from a potential condition of relative ignorance (like their parents or grandparents) to a condition of knowledge like white people" (ibid:286), school for the Arakmbut, though important, is not in itself able to produce a full Arakmbut person (as Chapter 7 details). Schooling is an important ritual in which it is necessary to participate in order, like the peoples described by Gow, to achieve a 'condition of knowledge like white people' and be considered an acceptable member of the national society (rather than an ignorant social outcast). However, once this often unpleasant ritual is over (and it need not take more than a couple of years), this condition is achieved and schooling and its very constricted types of 'knowledge' has no further importance for the Arakmbut. It is through their relations with peones within the community, with colonists and traders at Boca Colorado and through FENAMAD and Eori Centre in Puerto Maldonado, that the Arakmbut learn about and learn how to participate and survive in the wider 'national'

society surrounding them. As Chapter 4 demonstrated, the school curriculum and the school learning environment are not only divorced from the reality of the children's lives but from the reality of the non-indigenous society surrounding the community and as such has little to offer the Arakmbut.

In San José the barrier or 'wall' which divides the school domain from the community domain was constructed by the teachers and accords with the monocultural transitional aims of the formal education system. However, it is the community which controls and patrols the 'wall' and effectively restricts the teachers' influence to within the school domain. In the course of their daily activities both the teachers and the Arakmbut cross between domains. However, the Arakmbut rarely enter the school and have no interest in influencing or controlling the school domain. The teachers, on the contrary, move freely throughout the community and school domain but have no influence in the community domain, though they would sorely like to have. The community is well satisfied with this situation but the teachers, once having helped construct the 'wall', are at a loss to know where to find a 'breach'.

Over their forty years of formal schooling and Dominican evangelisation the Arakmbut have never been passive recipients of the Dominican civilising scheme. One Dominican missionary considers that 40 years of Catholic proselytisation has had no effect on the Arakmbut (per. comm. M. Fernandez 10.7.92). Although the Arakmbut quickly abandoned their public rituals and took on the overt signs of 'civilisation' in Shintuya, the missionaries, enveloped in their 'superior knowledge', did not perceive another reality which was more profound and unchanged. For their part, the Arakmbut want to be considered 'civilised' and to participate in Peruvian society and they see schooling as the way to achieve this. But this does not mean

becoming Peruvian at the expense of being Arakmbut.

Differential Relationships with the Teachers

Although all members of San José help to maintain the wall around the school which limits the power of the teachers, the community does not have a uniform and undifferentiated relation with the teachers. In March 1992, the young President and Secretary of San José took the opportunity of being in Puerto Maldonado to visit the RESSOP office at the San Jacinto Mission and formulate a letter denouncing the 1991 teachers and asking for them to be removed. This initiative, of which most of the community was unaware, had the result of highlighting relations between the community and the teachers and forcing individuals to take a stance for or against their removal. The different reactions to the school and the different relationships between the teacher and individuals and families in San José can be grouped into three: the first is a small group which comprises the teachers' most staunch supporters; the second and largest group comprises those who have very little to do with the school and the teachers; and the third is a growing and uncohesive group of young people who do not support the teacher.

Group 1:

The people who gave the teachers most support are predominantly their compadres. This group comprised 11 adults and formed 19 per cent of the adult population living in San José during the 1991 academic year. The teachers' compadres were predominantly the members of the community with most formal education. The group centred around a core of ex-Dominican boarding school students now in their late 30s and 40s who were nurtured for, and encouraged to take on, leadership roles within the community under the supervision of the missionaries. After

completing primary school under the care of the Dominicans, members of this group returned to their community to manage the new and burgeoning relations with the colonists and gold miners moving into the region. They led the way in introducing the community to gold panning in the 1970s. Since then they have tried other ventures, though with less success, such as keeping domesticated animals, mainly pigs and sheep, and putting their carpentry skills to use in house building.

Though young to be leaders within traditional Arakmbut society, two of the men from this group assumed formal offices once San José became recognised as a legally constituted 'Native Community' in 1986 and the new structure of official community leadership was established. These men were also elected to positions in the leadership of FENAMAD when it was first formed in 1982.

More recently, however, members of this group have been trying to pass on the legal, elected responsibility for the community vis-à-vis the outside world to the younger educated youths in San José. The boarding school generation has found that holding office did not bring the kind of prestige and status within the community which they seek. Prestige with Arakmbut society, as noted earlier, comes through generosity and the ability to give (e'iok). Generosity can take the form of distributing hunted meat through clan and affine links, the fruits of gold panning shared out in the form of beer at a community fiesta, but prestige also comes through being knowledgeable (e'nopwe) about the species of the forest and river and knowing how to use this knowledge in production activities as well as curing and entertaining through songs and stories (as is discussed in the next chapter). On the contrary, holding official office brought hardship in terms of having to pay out of their own pocket for trips to Puerto Maldonado to represent the community and attend to issues arising over community land. Furthermore,

they found themselves at the centre of demands and pressures by individuals and organisations outside the community which they had no power to deal with because community decisions are taken through consultation between the older members of the community and according to the cultural traditions of Arakmbut society. Moore describes the situation of the President and office bearers as like that of a Ministry of Foreign Affairs who deal with outside relations but can never take important decisions themselves (T. Moore pers. comm. 3.92).

Members of this group are the most positive towards the Dominican missionaries and teachers. They are sympathetic towards the aims of the school and provide a certain measure of parental backup for the teachers. The members of this group have most contact with the teachers and often go to the teachers' house to listen to the Dominican network shortwave radio.

However, this group also displays ambivalent and ambiguous relations towards the Dominicans in general, one day praising a certain Padre for his fairness and, another day, declaiming the way in which they were forced to attend church against their will or threatened with beatings in the mission of Shintuya "when they were only recently civilised" (pers. comm. T. Quique 3.92). Their close childhood contact, and the dependency which was fostered between pupils and Padres, who in some cases acted as in loco parentis, has left them with often conflicting emotions for the Padres and the lay-missionary teachers. They strongly disapproved of the denunciation of the 1991 teachers and failed to support the new 1992 teachers, demanding instead the reinstatement of the 1991 Director (cf. p.133).

Group 2:

The second group also includes ex-Dominican school students from the years when the Arakmbut were in Shintuya. It comprises 31 adults and 53 per cent of the adult population in San José. However, in contrast to Group 1, the ex-students in this group were not sent to boarding school, but stayed with their families in Shintuya and were eventually rejected by the school or dropped out. It also includes the generation of Arakmbut who were considered too old to attend school when they arrived in Shintuya.

The individuals in this group have at best only a rudimentary grasp of Spanish. Their inability or unwillingness to speak Spanish consequently limits their communication with the teachers. This group receives no benefits from the teachers in terms of imported items: on the one hand they have little money with which to buy luxury items; and, on the other, they lack favour with the teachers who are more disposed to bring imported items for members of Group 1. Furthermore, they lack the means with which to curry favour, should they want to, such as the ability to service the Diocesan generator or own outboard motors for their canoes with which to offer transportation for the teachers to Boca Colorado. One woman in this group is a comadre to the 1991 Director but this neither influenced her attitude to the teachers in general nor brought her any favoured status.

This group is the most traditional in economic practices, though members of all groups pan some gold. They are not particularly good at managing economic relations with the traders at Boca Colorado, though all groups suffer from being cheated and manipulated by cunning merchants. However, they are most likely to buy a motor pump for gold panning at an inflated price, fall behind with the payments and have it repossessed. This group also includes the most respected and skilled

curers and story tellers.

Group 3:

The third group is a heterogeneous group but draws together many of the young men and women who themselves attended the San José school and a few of whom have had a year of more of secondary schooling in Puerto Maldonado or Sepahua mission. Many of them were pupils under the regime of the 1991 Director. Group 3 comprises 16 young adults (not including those still attending secondary or university during 1991) and 28 per cent of the San José adult population. Though several are young parents, few have children of school age and are therefore likely to be excluded from any school meetings for parents, yet the men comprise the majority of the office bearers elected by the community, such as President, Treasurer, Secretary, Vice President, Vocal.

Unlike the generation above them (Group 1) they feel no particular allegiance to the Dominicans and have no strong emotional ties to them. Unlike Group 1, however, many have parents still alive who are the oldest and most traditional people in the community (and members of Group 2). Many of the young members of this third group have great respect for the traditional knowledge and skills their parents embody, although at the same time are also more at ease in the presence of the settlers in Boca Colorado. The members of this group are heavily reliant on gold panning as a source of income and use their oral and sometimes written skills in Spanish and mathematics to serve them in their dealings in the gold economy. Many contract gold peones to work for them in their gold camps, though their takings from the gold are rarely enough to offset their outlays in terms of salaries, food and petrol for the water pumps. Consequently, they do not earn significantly more than others through gold work and are looking for new economic alternatives to the waning gold supplies, such as lumbering and cattle raising. These

economic activities and their outward ease in the company of wahaipi belie their eagerness to learn from their parents and their growing knowledge of Arakmbut culture, the forest and the spirit world.

The women in this group, distinct from the men, display a lack of enthusiasm to use any of the skills acquired at school. Their lives are conducted almost entirely in the 'Arakmbut domain' and the opportunities for using oral Spanish and basic numeracy are limited to occasional trips with their extended families to Boca Colorado. (Justina, described in Chapter 8 is illustrative of women in this group.) Consequently they do not have much contact with the teachers, and their former pupil/teacher status makes this an uneasy relationship. The teachers relate to these women as girls and former pupils, while within Arakmbut society they have had the status of adults and also mothers[9]. The same uneasy relationship exists between the teachers and the young men of this group.

Table 2: Differentiation of Relationships with Teachers

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Boarding school education	No/little school education	Community school education
Middle generation	Oldest generation	Youngest generation
Support for the teachers	Non-committal towards teachers	No support for teachers

In conclusion, San José comprises three groups vis-à-vis the teachers, the missionaries and the school (see Table 2). Schooled learning has produced a small cluster of families (Group 1) who have been motivated by the mission vision of 'development' and 'progress' to try out different money-making schemes involving the capitalist market. In the 1970s this group comprised a strong cohesive body with important leadership roles vis-à-vis the national society through the structure of

the Native Community, while today they are seeking status and recognition from among the older generation (Group 2) through skills and knowledge acquired exclusively in the 'Arakmbut domain'. Members of Group 1 have handed over all responsibility for the 'Peruvian domain' to members of Group 3 who are prepared to take on the dubious honour of official office. Group 3 are firmly entrenched in the gold economy and looking for alternatives to this ailing occupation. However, they do this without forming alliances with the school or the Church. Members of this group accuse members of Group 1 of only doing what the teacher told them when they were community officials. They say they are trying to break the community's dependence on the missionaries and lay-missionary teachers and express a great deal of exasperation at the control they feel the teachers continue to wield through compadrazgo.

The Politics of Education in San José

The political strategy adopted by the 1991 teachers to aid their survival in San José was a strategy of forming alliances within the community. This was done first and foremost through alliances of ritual kinship (compadrazgo) with those members of the community most disposed towards schooling (cf. Chapter 4). However, these same people also had a complex emotional relationship with the Dominican missionaries and a conflict of allegiance which surfaced over the denunciation of the teachers. The main focus of the denunciation made by the President and Secretary was a perceived lack of general co-ordination between teachers and the community. It accused the teachers of co-ordinating with only one extended family (from Group 1). It also accused them of mistreating some children, of taking community funds and donations, and of spending most of their time in the company of highland wahaipis including gold panners, shop keepers at Boca Colorado and influential traders. The

Arakmbut resented their relationships with the very people who were exploiting and competing with the Arakmbut for land and resources. Among the other accusations were claims that the teachers favoured the children of their compadres in the school and of manipulating the end-of-year marks in their favour. They were accused of helping only certain children find places at secondary school and of accepting bribes of string bags (wenpu) to help these children along.

The teachers considered the accusations unjust and unsubstantiated and, on their arrival in the community before the beginning of the 1992 term, demanded a meeting where each accusation could be addressed, refuted and a document drawn up which exonerated them, signed by the members of the community. The teachers were accompanied by the RESSOP Supervisor and a new RESSOP teacher who was destined for Puerto Luz.

After waiting most of the afternoon, a meeting eventually took place towards dusk in the school at which the community Secretary read out a list of dissatisfactions with the teachers in both Spanish and Harakmbut. The teachers demanded dates of concrete incidents and examples to back up the accusations and sat with pen and paper recording the proceedings. On many of the points no specific evidence was forthcoming but the President and Secretary seemed unconcerned. The teachers, hurt to the quick by accusations from what they considered to be young upstarts (Group 3 men), tried to prompt and then bully their compadres to refute the charges. In certain cases the compadres rallied around and defended the teachers, for example, on the charge that they were exploiting gold at the expense of the community. But they were reluctant to speak out and directly contradict members of their own kin groups. As the meeting progressed, they increasingly limited themselves to inaudible murmurs among each other in Harakmbut. The Director became exasperated with their lack of support and the way the meeting was

going. She got angrily to her feet declaiming what she saw as the weak moral fibre of the community and accusing individuals of being guilty in the past of the offenses of which she was being accused now, such as the misappropriation of school funds.

At this point some of the older men began to leave. The meeting was predominantly in Spanish and their interpretation of the proceedings was that the Director was shouting at the top of her voice at different members of the community. When some of the younger men found that the Director was trying to turn the tables and accuse them, they too got up and left. Then the women began to steer their children towards the door. The Director, completely humiliated and feeling her 'high moral ground' slipping away, lost her last shred of calm and control and threatened violence to some young members of the community. At this point the main body of her supporters, her compadres, walked out of the classroom and the meeting collapsed. The teachers had not achieved what they had come for - a document denying the charges. Instead they had succeeded in testing the limits of their compadrazgo alliances and found their breaking point.

The President and Secretary had carried out a coup vis-à-vis the teachers' compadres. They had drawn up and presented the denunciation in Puerto Maldonado without consulting the community, because they were secure in the knowledge that they were voicing a growing but hitherto unarticulated dissatisfaction with the teachers (by members of Groups 2 and 3). But they also knew that they would meet fierce opposition from the teachers' compadres (Group 1) and so had proceeded without informing them.

Behind the extreme and unsubstantiated accusations about the teachers lay the fundamental problem of the unequal relations which the teachers fostered with different groups in the community. When the

Director demanded that her compadres stand up and support her against other members of the community they abandoned her because she was asking them to allow their alliance to her to override the relations of clan and kin that united the Arakmbut and took priority over any relationship with non-Arakmbut. The teachers had failed to see that the exaggerated charges levied against them by the vocal element of their opposition were symptoms of a more pervasive malaise: that the relations which the teachers had built up with their compadres were causing tensions within the Arakmbut domain. To realign relations within the community the teachers' compadres could not defend them. To do so would be subjecting the community to control from the 'Peruvian domain'.

The teachers had to admit defeat and left San José very bitter and shaken. The teacher destined for Puerto Luz took charge of the school in San José and the 1991 teachers headed upstream to Puerto Luz. The denunciation against the 1991 teachers illustrates the way in which the tensions and frictions between the two domains can affect relations between Arakmbut. The majority of the community were dissatisfied with the 1991 teachers, not the institution of the RESSOP school, and rather than demanding control over the running of their school, they demanded new lay-missionary teachers.

This chapter has provided a picture of the school and the teachers from the perspective of the community members which complements the picture painted in the previous chapter. Chapter 4 presented the lay-missionary teachers struggling alone to 'educate' the uncooperative and unruly Arakmbut with a curriculum designed primarily to dominate and convert them. This chapter has provided another perspective of the situation and presented the Arakmbut as neither unruly, dominated or converted, but instead, independent and in control. The Arakmbut's limited need for the school places them beyond the its potentially

disempowering influences. The next chapter considers the 'Arakmbut cultural domain' and its educational processes which provide the Arakmbut with the ability and strength to defy the influences of formal education.

Footnotes

1. This attitude to school is also documented in parts of the lower Urubamba in communities of mixed ethnic groups. There, communities with schools are defined as 'caserios legitimos' (real villages) because the school receives occasional visits from officials and consequently the community has state recognition (Gow 1988:233).

2. This point is also emphasised by Wahl when she talks of the "sobering effect" upon the Harakmbut of dealing directly with the outside world. "Beyond a certain degree, humiliation led to anger and could - and did - underlie later stances of social defiance" (Wahl 1987:310).

3. The term 'wahaipi' is applied to Quechua and Mestizo people from the highlands of Peru. However, over the last decade, the term has been used more frequently to encompass any non-indigenous Peruvian person and the term 'Amiko' is used less.

4. An interesting area for future investigation is the Arakmbut use of different systems of representation in calculation and their development of a distinct knowledge of mathematics outside the school (cf. Lave, 1988; Nunes 1993).

5. Christie notes a similar approach to schooling among Australian Aboriginal children who perceive school learning differently from non-Aboriginal children: "The three most recommended ways to achieve this [academic success] are to attend school regularly, sit quietly and listen constantly to the teacher....Ongoing physical presence at school (regardless of participation), was seen as primary..." (Christie cited in Harris 1990:5).

6. The term 'potlatch' is employed on the Northwest-coast of Canada and refers to a form of ceremonial exchange of gifts which is related to the distribution and display of rank and title among the indigenous peoples. I use it here in the broad sense as a vehicle for redistributing resources (wealth and food) in an uncertain environment (cf. Seymour-Smith, D. Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology 1987).

7. Both Wahl and Fuentes note the way in which the Dominicans ran the lumber mill yet never paid the Harakmbut enough for their timber to survive through lumbering (Wahl 1987:262). The Dominicans still act as middle men for the sale of timber to traders who come to Shintuya and thus deprive the Harakmbut the possibility of developing a greater capacity to conduct their own business affairs (Fuentes 1982).

8. The term 'domain' is used here as an approach to understanding how the two very different world views, held by the teachers and the community respectively, relate to each other within the community of San Jose. In an Australian Aboriginal context Harris uses the concept of 'domain' to "think in terms of separated culture domains or separated social worlds. Each group's social world can be called a domain" (Harris 1989:8). He describes the use and rational for 'cultural domain separation' as being like "walking through a door. If its the Aboriginal domain or 'room' you're in then you operate by Aboriginal rules. If its the Anglo culture domain or 'room' you're in then you operate by Anglo culture rules" (Harris ibid.).

9. Gender relations and, in particular, the division of labour and responsibility between inside (Arakmbut) society and outside (national) society in San Jose is discussed at length in Aikman (n.d.).

CHAPTER 6: ARAKMBUT KNOWLEDGE AND EDUCATION

The previous chapters have composed a picture of formal education in San José, its aims and objectives and the responses of the community. If we consider 'education' in terms of "a gradual process by which a person gains knowledge and understanding through learning" (Collins Cobuild Dictionary 1987), then clearly we have only looked at a small portion of a child's learning experiences, confined to a narrow system of teaching within the 'school domain'. The school, as we have noted, ignores the out-of-school learning environments of the community and the intercultural contexts of, for example, Boca Colorado and traders' shops and stalls by the riverbanks of the Karene.

This chapter broadens the horizon of Arakmbut 'education' and considers the 'informal' education of the Arakmbut community domain. It is through this learning that a child develops a sense of Arakmbut cultural identity, that is, an internalised cultural consciousness and an identification with a distinct concept of reality accepted by virtue of participation in it (Brock 1985:4). However, there is a distinction to be made between the community as a context for 'out-of-school' learning, and the community as the locus for a 'without school' learning. The former assumes that the school and community are part of a wider system of teaching and learning processes but which are based in a common epistemology. However, as this chapter illustrates, Arakmbut 'education' is premised on fundamentally different epistemological conceptions and views of the world.

Distinctions have been made by different authors between learning in 'formal' and 'informal' contexts which relate to the nature of the learning strategies employed and the relationship with the knowledge acquired (see Au and Jordan 1981; Amodio 1989). These distinctions are

pertinent to the discussion of learning in San José which has all the characteristics of 'informal' learning in contraposition to the formal schooled learning we have considered previously (see Table 3). However, this does not imply that the school constitutes the 'formal' part of Arakmbut learning but rather that Arakmbut learning does not have distinct components - formal or informal. The formal institutional learning which the school provides is not part of, but exists alongside, Arakmbut learning in the community (Amodio 1989).

Table 3: Characteristics of Schooled and Informal Learning
(Adapted from Scribner and Cole 1973 in Au and Jordan 1981)

SCHOOLED LEARNING	INFORMAL LEARNING
What is taught is most important.	Who is doing the teaching is most important.
Unfamiliar content.	Familiar content.
Language is the main vehicle for learning.	Watching and doing are the main vehicles for learning.
Learning is rule-oriented.	Learning is task oriented.
Learning is uni-directional.	Learning can be bi-directional.

In the San José school the teacher exerts personal control over what is learned, why it is learned and how it is learned. Thus learning is rendered devoid of any meaningful and motivating context from outside of the school itself, a quality which, onthe contrary, characterises informal learning. Thus, in school, the learning environment is abstracted and unrelated to the children's non-school learning and experiences, producing in children what Christie terms 'purposeful learning behaviour' (Christie 1985). From his work on informal learning among Aboriginal peoples of Australia, Christie contrasts 'purposeful learning behaviour' of the formal school with 'meaningful learning behaviour' of Aboriginal informal education. With the latter, learning is directed towards developing and maintaining the "meaningfulness of

one's life" (Christie op. cit.). The term is intended to convey the indigenous orientation towards 'being' as opposed to 'doing' and towards participation and experience rather than direct cognition (Teasdale 1993). This chapter is concerned with elucidating the elements of Arakmbut informal education that contribute to its meaningfulness for learners in terms of developing and internalising their distinctive Arakmbut cultural identity and world view.

Chapter 3 considered briefly the three main Arakmbut myths through which it is possible to glimpse an Arakmbut view of the world. The Arakmbut world view encompasses a distinct conceptualisation of reality which has important consequences for learning and the nature of knowledge in Arakmbut society, and which sets it apart from a western world view and schooled learning. For example, Arakmbut knowledge does not distinguish between practical knowledge and theoretical knowledge or between religious and secular knowledge. For the Arakmbut, knowledge has an inter-relatedness because of the spiritual dimension which runs like a thread through all knowledge. The compartmentalisation of western knowledge goes back thousands of years to the time of Plato when subjects such as mathematics, philosophy and music were considered to have internal logic and coherence (see for example Holmes and McLean 1989).

Arakmbut knowledge is structured according to such concepts as gender complementarity, clan affiliation, age, maloca group affiliation, marriage status and residence. For example, men and women have access to different bodies of knowledge: men develop an understanding of the forest and the river and hunting skills; women develop a body of knowledge and expertise in garden cultivation and edible forest plants and fruits. Arakmbut are all members of one of seven clans and relate to other members of the community, as well as to different fauna species,

according to the relationship they have with them because of their clan membership.

The Arakmbut view of the world and the nature of knowledge is, consequently, fundamentally different to the western views of the world. Arakmbut learning is geared towards understanding this world, a world which is unpredictable, recalcitrant and constantly having to be reinterpreted through each members' experience and interaction. Education is not learning and continual striving for betterment, for 'progress' or for 'development' but learning in order to try to maintain a balance between the visible and invisible worlds, that is between the world of the Arakmbut and the world of the spirits which have control over both the person and the community's health and nutrition.

This chapter investigates learning in the informal context of Arakmbut society: what people learn, how people learn, and the manner in which these interrelate. The first section looks at growth and knowledge among the Arakmbut and the second section examines the life cycle and the differential relationship between growth through maturity to old age, and the acquisition of knowledge and the ability to use knowledge at different stages in life. The third section is a case study illustrating how knowledge is structured and embedded in the socio-cultural context and the fourth section looks at how this knowledge is communicated and transmitted.

Knowledge and Growth: the Acquisition of Knowledge and the Ability to Use It

Arakmbut learning and growth is directed towards becoming an adult ('wambokerek' man; 'wetone' woman). Parents want their children to become competent adults who can provide for their parents in their old age. To be 'well provided for' is to have offspring, who have the

knowledge and ability to manage several gardens with a diversity of crops and good hunting skills to bring in a regular supply of meat which will ensure both physical growth and good health. They want them in turn to have healthy children and carry on their clan line. In order to do these things a man and woman must be able to manage their relations with the visible and the invisible world and to do this they need to be strong, both in body (waso) and in soul (nokiren). An adult who can combine physical strength, spiritual strength (nokiren) and knowledge and understanding of the Arakmbut universe is highly respected.

For the Arakmbut, learning is lifelong and knowledge is built up through experience and understanding. Growth from birth to death is punctuated by stages, each stage heralding a new phase of learning and a new ability to use knowledge for the benefit of the individual, the household and the community. As Arakmbut approach old age their ability to learn about the invisible world increases in direct relationship as their ability to use this knowledge decreases. This is because of the changing relationship between the body and the nokiren through life (see Figure 4). By tracing the relationship between body and nokiren from birth to death we shall attempt to elucidate the essential characteristics of being Arakmbut and what children aspire to, what adults try to attain, and what elders seek to pass down before they die.

An Arakmbut is made up of body (waso), soul-matter (nokiren) and a name (wandik). The waso is the visible, tangible aspect of a person while the nokiren is the invisible, intangible aspect which most closely conforms with the notion of 'self-consciousness' (Gray 1983:211)[1].

> Whereas for us existing, living and self-consciousness are qualitatively different, for the Amarakaeri the difference is primarily a direct result of the quantitative allocation of nokiren (ibid.).

All living things have soul-matter but only the larger animals have a

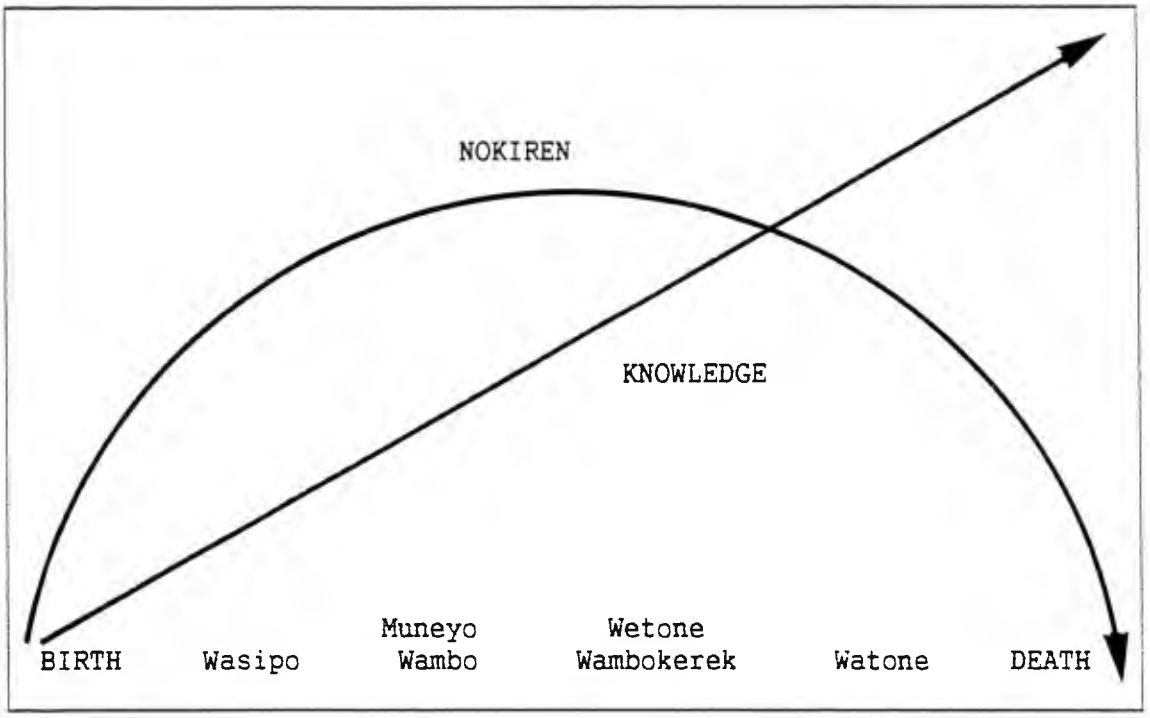


Figure 4: Relationship between the Nokiren and the Growth of Knowledge Through Life

nokiren, such as the peccary and tapir. A human nokiren has two parts. One part is focused at the base of the spine and called the wanopo, which the Arakmbut consider is the focus of all emotions, moods and affective responses. The other part, dispersed throughout the body, is connected with thought. Thought and emotion are considered to differ in intensity.

Different states of consciousness are explained by changing relations between the waso and the nokiren. For example, when a person is awake, their nokiren is inside their waso. However, when a person is asleep, has a dream or a hallucination, then their nokiren is still related contiguously with the waso but the nokiren is outside of it. When someone dies their nokiren and waso become separated and there is no relationship between the two.

The waso and the nokiren, however, are not two mutually exclusive parts. The wandik (name) unifies them. Every Arakmbut has a wandik which

is part of that person's identity and tied up with their whole wellbeing. This name is carefully guarded and known by only their closest family because it could be used by an enemy to attack their nokiren.

The Arakmbut word 'e'nopwe' means 'to know', 'to think' and 'to understand'. The Arakmbut have no word for the brain but knowledge travels around the body with the dispersed nokiren. When a person dies their knowledge leaves the body as does the nokiren. It is dangerous to utter a dead person's name because it has the power to summon back the nokiren which will try to tempt the nokiren of other living people away with it. Nevertheless, just as a person's nokiren can influence others, so too can knowledge/understanding/thought influence others and also things closely associated with a person. When someone dies, their most personal belongings are destroyed so that the nokiren and knowledge go to the afterlife and do not remain with the living to cause harm. When the oldest and most respected shaman (wayorokeri) in San José died in 1980 before he had prophesied he would, all his personal belongings were destroyed such as his clothes, mug and plates because some of his 'being' resided in these objects. His chickens were killed so that their nokiren could follow him to the afterworld (Serowe) and a huge mango tree was felled. His house was burned to the ground and his wife was left with nothing which might cause her to recall her former life and husband. Knowledge, therefore, is not confined to the person's body but can 'infect' objects closely associated with a person.

To utter the name (wandik) of a dead person has dangerous consequences because of the danger of calling his/her spirit back to the community where it could do harm. The wandik is the part of a person associated with memory ('embatandikka'), part of which comes from the verb to 'e'ndikka' which means 'to name'. Since the concept of memory,

therefore, centres around the word wandik, knowledge from the dispersed aspect of the nokiren is brought together through the wandik. In 1985, when Gray discussed the results of his anthropological research from 1979-81 with the elders of San José, they listened a while but were unimpressed with all the detail. However, they said they were nevertheless convinced that he had understood what they had taught him because he knew the names which were important to know, such as clan names, mythological characters and types of spirits.

The Arakmbut Life Cycle

- Infancy

When a baby is born, its nokiren is very ill-defined and so is totally reliant on its parents for all its needs. Much of its first months are therefore spent asleep. At this stage the baby is referred to as 'yombedn'. A baby is usually born in the gardens or in the forest behind the house to keep the spirits, which are attracted by the blood at the birth, away from the community. After the birth the mother cares for the baby on a makeshift bed in the kitchen, which is separate from the house. This distances the baby from other members of the family so forest spirits which follow the newborn child cannot harm them. The baby is vulnerable to attack from spirits because its nokiren is not strongly fixed to its waso.

During pregnancy the mother follows various prohibitions which continue for the first year for both her and the baby. This includes rigorous dietary controls avoiding the meat of large animals, particularly monkey and peccary, lest the characteristics of the animal enter the child and cause it harm. Other animals must also be avoided, such as armadillo, which is a sleepy animal and could cause the baby to sleep and never wake up again, and monkeys whose prehensile tails could

strangle the baby.

At three to four months the baby becomes a 'wapoybedn' and from five months until it can walk a baby is a sinon. These terms reflect its physical development and ability to control its movements. Over this first year the child may receive a Spanish name and possibly a baby name, but is often referred to simply as sinon and is adored by all members of the family and the focus of attention. The baby accompanies its mother everywhere and is carried on her back strapped to a padded board ('kusipe') with a basket over its face to protect it from insects and the sun.

- Childhood: incomplete adulthood

At the age of approximately three years, the first major change in a child's life occurs. From one day to the next it is weaned, has its first hair cut and becomes a wasipo (child). At this age a child becomes abruptly independent of its mother and often her time and physical affection may be supplanted by a new younger sibling. The term wasipo does not denote gender and both boys and girls follow a similar pattern of activities and development (see Table 4, p.152).

As Middleton notes, children's learning is not cut off from adults but rather they learn as if they were incomplete but developing adults (Middleton 1970). Arakmbut children have considerable responsibility for themselves and their welfare and pass much of the day in the company of other children independent of their parents. A San José mother left her four children ranging in age from 3 to 9 years alone in the community for seven hours. The older children took nominal care of the younger ones. Where children are given responsibility and a high degree of autonomy from an early age there is no sharp division between childhood and adulthood in terms of interests, motives and

purposes and, as Fortes found in his study of education among the Tale, there is no need to coerce children to take a share in economic or social life (Fortes:1970). They share a 'meaningfulness' and common goals in their learning.

Many children's games are imitations of adult activities, for example, constructing makeshift huts of branches and leaves and lighting fires outside to cook bananas or manioc. They also begin to learn adult skills and some division of activities between gender occurs as older wasipo girls start to learn how to roll fibres ('tonco') and make bags (wenpu) which are symbolically and practically very important in Arakmbut society.

As wasipos grow in both body and soul they become stronger and are able to venture further into the forest, the realm of the spirits. By the age of 7 or 8 years wasipos have learned a considerable amount about the forest and the river and about different plant and tree species, in particular those which are edible or used for building materials. They know where and at which time of year trees and bushes produce wild fruits and the migration and movement patterns of many birds and animals. On a half hour walk along a forest path to a small bend in the river for fishing, a five year old found five different types of fruit to eat, and meandered on and off the path quite independently in search of fruits while keeping her grandmother within sight.

Children are highly autonomous from an early age not only in their behaviour and responsibility for themselves and younger siblings but in their learning. As Teasdale notes in Aboriginal communities, adults are not a significant source of extrinsic motivation to learn; motivation is intrinsic with the peer group providing a secondary extrinsic source (Teasdale 1993:3).

The binding together of the body and soul of a child as it grows and approaches adulthood is achieved through a gradual build up of knowledge about the forest and the river and the spirits which inhabit these realms, as well as through their physical maturity and the development of a strong body. In times of illness a child (or an adult) may be covered in a black dye ('o') to give them more strength against spirits and help them grow. As children approach puberty they are encouraged to swim in the cold early morning water of the rivers and streams to increase their resilience and strength. They are also encouraged to exert themselves and sweat which is considered good for a child's growth and will make them strong enough to work well (e'ka'a and e'mba'a). In order to enhance growth there are also certain leaves which the older wetone know which will help a child grow into a woman with wide hips and large breasts. Parents concerned that their child is not growing well or healthy enough can ask an older person to sing a 'child growing song'.

While singing a growing song, tobacco is blown over the child or baby as tobacco is considered a bitter substance ('painda') which keeps toto (potentially harmful spirits) away and the child safe from its harmful influences. One old man in San José gave a rough version of the song he had sung for a crying baby:

> Baby, baby, grow grow - grow like the yono tree - grow like this fast growing tree which is tall and straight - grow like the yari (white lipped peccary) - like the baping palm grow fast - grow baby, baby - like long wambidnpi (a type of bamboo) grow, grow - grow baby - like fast growing keme (tapir) - grow baby - grow like the mapitangka (small thorn bush) - grow baby - grow baby - you can grow in a separate place - grow baby - grow in the night - grow baby (Ireyo, San José, 3.92).

An elderly person's wisdom of the forest, river and invisible world is called upon to help strengthen children at different times in childhood, for example when a small child first eats ho, the fruit of

the peach palm. Ho has a rather ambiguous relationship with the Arakmbut and with the invisible world and has to be treated with considerable care because of its semi-domesticated state. When a child first eats 'ho' a ho chindign (ho curing chant) is often chanted over the child and addressed to the peach palm tree:

> If you harm this child we will make a fire and set fire to your spines. You will never again be able to produce fruit.

The increasing diversity of activities between boys and girls as they approach puberty is recognised as a period in which they are changing from children into young men and women. The term for these developing years at around ten to twelve is 'wambo'po' for boys and 'muneyo'po' for girls, meaning literally 'becoming a 'wambo'' and 'becoming a 'muneyo''. These are shortened forms of 'e'muneyopakonyak' meaning gradually forming into a woman and 'e'mbokerekpakonyak' meaning gradually forming into a man and contrast with the genderless term wasipo used for earlier years.

- Adulthood: the binding together of body and soul

Prior to the Arakmbut move to the mission of Shintuya at the end of the 1950s, the graduation from one age grade to another for a boy was marked and celebrated at fiestas. The first, 'e'ohtokoy' (nose piercing) took place between 12 and 14 years of age which signified that a wasipo had become a wambo (new). He was then permitted to paint his body with the designs of a wambo and began to learn in earnest how to hunt, sometimes accompanying his father on hunting trips and taking part in communal peccary hunts. Today the ceremony is no longer performed and the nose piercing, the overt sign of a boy's changing status, does not take place. Consequently, though the age grades are still adhered to, the transition from one to the other is less clear cut. Nevertheless,

only once a boy is recognised as a wambo can he begin to go further afield from the community and learn about hunting and the forest both through his father and on his own. Nowadays, once a boy has become a wambo he also begins to work gold with his father and spend less time with his mother and sisters.

By the time the wambo is 18 or 19 years old, he has gained considerable experience and knowledge of the forest and is ready to become a man and find a wife. This change in status from wambo to wambokerek (man), means that he is now strong enough to hunt and provide meat for a wife and family and is strong enough to reproduce his clan through his children, which implies that his waso and nokiren are now fully tied together. The move from youth to adulthood (wambo to wambokerek) was celebrated prior to mission contact at the 'e'paimpak' ceremony (the ceremony of feathers) when a wambo had his lower lip perforated ('e'mbogntokoy') with a spine from the peach palm. In the past a boy approaching his first age grade ceremony would be under the general guidance of an older member of his family or clan, such as an uncle or grandfather. This person would ensure that the boy was expanding his understanding and knowledge appropriate for his move into the next age grade. The elders in the community often refer today to the beauty of these ceremonies, of the singing and the dancing and the feather body decorations.

Girls have never had ceremonies to mark their growth and progress towards womanhood. From about the age of 12 to 14 years, as she begins to mature physically, a girl becomes a 'muneyo' (young woman). Pregnancy and childbirth signify the most important step into adulthood for women and mark their change of status from muneyo to wetone (married woman who has given birth). Schooling has had the effect of delaying marriage for

Table 4: Differentiation of Learning and Activities Through Life

<table>
<tr><td>Birth</td><td colspan="2">INFANCY -YOMBEDN, WAPOYBEDN, SINON</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">CHILDHOOD - WASIPO
3-5 years: With mother around the house, kitchen, gardens and on fishing trips and gathering trips in the forest. Playing with and cared for by older siblings and extended family.
6-8 years: Increasing independence from mother and increasing time spent in company of other children. Small groups of young boys and girls go fishing, looking for fruit beyond the village and swimming. Girls begin to learn to make string bags, boys begin to spend more time with catapults chasing birds. Often play at making leaf thatch huts and cooking food on an improvised fire.
9-12 years: girls and boys becoming more independent of each other in their daily activities. Boys still help to care for younger siblings but this is more often done by girls. Boys spend a lot of time in the forest exploring further from the village. Girls spend a lot of time in the company of adult women making wenpu bags and beginning to learn to carry garden produce. Boys and girls carry out household chores, such as fetching water, carrying firewood and washing pots.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">YOUTH</td></tr>
<tr><td>MUNEYO'PO 12-14 years (approximately): girls spend most time in the company of other girls and adult women. Begin to do some of the cooking in the house but do not have full responsibility.</td><td colspan="2">WAMBO'PO 12-14 years: boys receive their first bow and arrows and practice catching birds and small animals. Spend a lot of time in the forest and river with other boys of the same age.</td></tr>
<tr><td>MUNEYO 14-15 years: a young woman begins to take on more responsibility for cooking and helps to butcher large animals and cook them. Helps with the heavier work in the gardens such as planting and weeding. Begins to make the wenpus which will be exchanged when she marries. She is now skilled at child care and familiar with the forest within a wide radius of the village.</td><td colspan="2">WAMBO 14/15 - 18/19 years: Learning to hunt under supervision of father and expanding knowledge of the forest and the river as well as the invisible world through the animals of these realms. Also learning songs about animals and birds which include details of their habitat. Nowadays, also starts to work gold with father and clansmen. Improving hunting in order to woo a wife by bringing meat to her mother.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">ADULTHOOD</td></tr>
<tr><td>WETONE signified by motherhood. Though living now with husband's family, a woman shares responsibility for cooking with other women and works in their gardens. Begins to clear and plant her first garden with her husband. Learning about a diversity of crops and garden chants.

As her family grows she and her household become a semi-independent unit with their own house. She expands her number of gardens and diversifies her crops and types of each crop. She may develop some knowledge of herbal remedies from older women and grow barbasco and other 'semi-wild' crops.</td><td colspan="2">WAMBOKEREK (SIPO)- young adult man: takes on responsibility for hunting for his extended family with other adult men as well as sharing gold work. Learning from older men about the spirit world and through hunting. Beginning to learn animal songs and myths.

WAMBOKEREK (TONE)- mature adult man: at height of his physical strength and his nokiren. Is father of several children and has built up his personal relations with the spirit world. Is learning chindign for curing from the elders and developing a mature person's vocabulary.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">OLD AGE - WATONE
In old age Arakmbut have accumulated a vast understanding of the river and the forest as well as sometimes close links with individual animals spirits. Occasionally individuals are skilled dreamers and can use their contact with the spirit world to advise the community and warn of dangers. Curers (wamanoka'eri) can know as many as 12 different chindign but their efficacy will be waning.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Death</td></tr>
</table>

many young women and today girls marry at 16 or 17 years. As Middleton notes, age grade ceremonies are a form of social recognition of learning and physical and social maturation (1970). However, unlike the formal school, absolute age is not important in Arakmbut society and the movement from one grade to another can occur at anytime over a range of several years, depending on the individual and his readiness. The Arakmbut story of 'Chipomeme' is concerned with a young wasipo who wants to be a wambo and goes to a fiesta to dance with the muneyo. However, when he starts dancing the adults at the fiesta mock him. He also dies because he has sexual relations too soon.

Table 4 illustrates the different stages of growth for the Arakmbut and the different activities according to gender at different periods over the life cycle. It also provides details of the content and the sequencing of learning from birth to death. Adulthood is the beginning of a new phase of learning. As mature Arakmbut with their waso and nokiren firmly tied together, they are in a position to defend the community against dangers. These dangers can come from both the visible and the invisible worlds. In the past, in times of threat from other Arakmbut or Taka groups, a leader (male) would emerge from the ranks of wambokerek to defend the community or to lead raids on other communities in search of wives when there were no eligible men and woman who could marry each other. Wambokerek and wetone are also in the strongest position within their community to defend it from attack from the spirit world. In order to be able to do this most effectively they need to accumulate knowledge about the spirit world and learn from the elders.

Implicit in the learning of songs, myths and chindign (curing chants) is also the need to learn a 'mature person's' form of Arakmbut language. The mother of a 26 year old university student worried that her son was spending a long time outside of the community when he ought

to be in San José, married and beginning to learn the language of the older men. By 'language' she meant the specialised vocabularies which men and woman learn through their developed contact with the forest and the spirit world, including increasing use of archaic language forms and vocabularies which take many years to master.

- Old Age: knowledge versus nokiren

As men and women mature, they accumulate knowledge about the forest and the river which helps them maintain the delicate balance with the invisible world and the spirits which inhabit it. They form a deeper understanding of, and closer relations with, the spirits and the invisible world but at the same time become more attracted to the afterlife in the invisible world. As their bodies begin to deteriorate physically, their nokiren becomes less firmly fixed to their waso and their ability to cope with the potential danger of the invisible world decreases. Accordingly, they gradually cease to have sexual relations and, for a man, rarely hunt or, for a woman, rarely cook. As these are tasks which demand considerable coherence of body, soul and name, they are gradually taken over by their own adult children. Altogether they exert less influence outside their own family and do not need to adhere strictly to food prohibitions. Old people are referred to by the term 'watone', which is applied to both men and women and does not denote gender.

Nevertheless, there is a certain irony about the position of the old, in that many old people have amassed a large amount of knowledge and understanding of the forest, river and the different species which they can use for curing purposes. Yet their efficacy in curing is not as great as it was when they were strong wambokerek with their body and soul closely tied together. This situation was exemplified in San José

when a boy fell ill and his grandfather knew several chindiqn with which he might try to cure the boy. However, the grandfather was elderly (watone) and instead the boy's father attempted the curing, though he was only beginning to learn the chindiqn. The father's strength as a wambokerek, in terms of his ability to battle against the spirits which wished to harm the child and take its nokiren, outweighed the old man's knowledge of curing. The grandfather was teaching his son and would continue to do so to enhance the younger man's skills at diagnosis and the sophistication of his chindiqn so that once diagnosed the appropriate chindiqn could be chanted and he could lure the spirit away from the boy.

There appears to be an optimum time in a man's life (and a woman's too, though curing is most often carried out by men) when he is still a wambokerek, strong and productive, yet he has gained experience and learning about the forest, river and the invisible world to combine the two strengths for the benefit of the community. Nevertheless, the waning of strength over the nokiren cannot be offset by the ascendancy of knowledge.

In conclusion, we can say that because of the potential harm in the invisible world, the most dangerous activities in a person's life are only possible when that person is at his/her most resilient, that is, as an adult (wambokerek, wetone). Detailed knowledge of the spirits can only be gained after a lifetime of hunting and fishing and gardening so that a person is at less risk from the spirits at the time when he/she knows most about them. Knowledge is not therefore public and available to all but it is restricted to certain times in a person's life and varies according to, among other things, gender. Members of particular clans have closer relations with some animal species than others and more specialised knowledge about them, though this is not a

wide differentiation of knowledge. The next section will look at these principles at work in the context of a village fish.

A Community-wide Fishing Activity

In the days before mission contact when the Arakmbut lived in communal houses or maloca (haktone) the old men would rouse the community to fish:

> Call to fish by an old man in the maloca
>
> Let us fish with barbasco at the big river. Everyone must come. All of you. Summer is coming. It is time to fish. The trees are fruiting. It is time to fish. Let us collect our barbasco. We have no meat at the moment. We must all agree. We all have to do it. Young people too have to support the elders in this fish (told by Arique Sr., 1980).

The following description of a community-wide fishing activity provides a context for understanding the distinctiveness of Arakmbut knowledge as well as the way in which the invisible world of the spirits pervades all Arakmbut knowledge and activities.

> At the beginning of March 1992, the majority of the men and women of San José participated in a day of fishing in the small river, the Kirazwe, which runs behind the village. On the day prior to the fish, the men (wambokerek) spent several hours cutting bamboo and constructing a woven fish trap across the Kirazwe which did not affect the level of the water but would hold back large fish. The Kirazwe was about 30 feet wide at this spot and varied in depth and speed.
>
> Early the following morning several women (wetone), accompanied by some of their children, went to their respective gardens ('tamba') to dig up barbasco, a plant whose roots are used for fishing. The women returned with their string bags full of barbasco (a stringy root) which they stored carefully in the corner of their kitchens until later in the morning when everyone participating in the fish was ready.
>
> Families left the village along the narrow footpaths in the direction of the Kirazwe and followed it for some eight or nine bends upstream from the dam. There, on a narrow beach the women emptied out the long stringy barbasco roots and began to pound them between large stones to produce a white milky sap. Once the barbasco was prepared, it was packed it into two large string bags (wenpu) and two women waded into the river with them. As they swept the bags

through the water, the white barbasco milk oozed out and was carried gently downstream in the current while the barbasco slowly de-oxygenated the water.

The women waded back and forth, sweeping the bags into every crevice and crack between fallen tree trunks and deep pools where the large fish might be lurking. More families arrived and the men prepared their bows and arrows and took up a stance on trunks which protruded over deep pools. The young men (wambos) arrived proudly bearing their bows and arrows made for them by their fathers. They were excited and very keen to begin.

Slowly the barbasco began to do its work and the first small fish poked their mouths above the water, gasping for air. This was the sign for the young girls (muneyo) and children (wasipo) to tread carefully along the shallows with kitchen knives or machetes poised to strike. Two small brothers watched rather nervously from the bank, their faces painted with large red spots to protect them from the water spirits ('waweri'). The archers waited for signs of larger fish before firing their long arrows. Some of the women waded cautiously into awkward pools that the men could not reach from above on the bank and stalked the larger fish in the deep water. By late afternoon they had reached the dam and the women's baskets ('kusogn') were full of small fish.

In the kitchens that evening the young women and their mothers sorted the fish and chose the tastiest, though not necessarily the largest, to boil for the meal. The children helped with gutting the tiddlers. The large fish were chopped into steaks and set to boil while other fish were packed tightly into hollow bamboo poles, which had been collected on the walk home, and were placed above the fires to smoke. Other remaining small fish were carefully wrapped in huge flat leaves and tied in neat parcels then left by the fire to cook gently.

The catch was distributed between kin and clan members so that everyone had a share. Manioc and bananas were boiled on the fire and as darkness fell the meal was eaten in silence. The next morning the wambos visited the dam to search for any fish which might have escaped them the previous day. In the afternoon the stream rose and by nightfall the main supports of the dam had washed away.

We will consider this episode in terms of the knowledge brought to bear on the fishing activity; and the differential access and ability to use different bodies of knowledge by different categories of people.

The decision to fish (e'ka bign) was based on Arakmbut knowledge of the ecology and behaviour of fish in relation to river levels and times of the year. In the dry season the main river, the River Karene, was usually relatively low and clear-running but heavy rain in the Andes

has caused the water to turn dark and silty and the mamore fish sought shelter in the clearer side streams. Dreams are also important for determining when and where to fish.

From beginning to end the fishing activity was embedded in the relationship between the visible and the invisible world for the Arakmbut. Children have access to knowledge and skills only when they are in a position to be strong enough to use them, that is as their nokiren becomes more strongly fixed to their waso, without harming themselves or their family. Thus the wasipos stayed close to their mothers and sisters or wandered together in a group up and down the shallows picking up the small fish, despite the fact that most of them could swim well. Where there was sickness in a family the children were protected against possible harm from the waweri with red paint ('achiote' mantaro). In more serious cases of sickness a family would avoid fishing altogether. The wambo, on the other hand, enjoyed these community wide fishing days because it gave them the opportunity to try out and practice their skills with bows and arrows. They went off in twos or threes and were extremely proud of anything they caught. The wambo and the wambokerek fished with their bows and arrows but only the wambokerek made the fish trap.

The men brought experience and skill to the fish in terms of their expertise with bows and arrows and their knowledge of fish behaviour and reaction to the barbasco. However the spirit world was another important factor which determined the outcome of the fish. Before hunting or fishing, wambokerek abstain from sex in order to contact the spirit world in their dreams and receive messages about where the best fish will be. The fisher's ability to spear a fish is consequently related to his relationship with the river spirits, the waweri, and the help they give him. However, the number of fish in the stream that day may have

also been due to an old shaman from the Yaromba clan who, during his lifetime, developed a particular relationship with the river and on his death in 1980 said he would go to the river and from there try to help and watch over the community. Nevertheless, members of other clans might not attribute any fishing success to the old Yaromba shaman at all but to other beneficial relations they had with the waweri. Once caught the fish had to be treated according to certain procedures and eaten according to a certain protocol out of respect for the river spirits and to avoid any risk of sickness being inflicted by the waweri.

Women brought their own skills and knowledge to the fish. The whole fishing activity was dependent on a supply of barbasco ('kumo') which the older women, wetone, grew in their gardens specifically for fishing. Only mature women plant barbasco because they must chant a chindiqn over it which calls on the large roots of trees like the wakta to encourage the roots of barbasco to extend as afar as possible. Barbasco is unlike any other crop and it also grows wild ('dumbayo kumo').

Barbasco has an important role to play as intermediary between the Arakmbut and the fish they eat. Fish live in the realm of the river spirits and the kumo is used to acquire fish for eating which belong to the waweri. Because of this the women must handle the root with great respect. The barbasco milk is spread through the water in a wenpu which has conceptual links with the waweri and fish as illustrated in the myth of Marinke. In the myth, the foetus of Marinke is protected in the river by boquichico fish and Marinke's grandmother is told in a dream by the boquichicos to make a basket (kusoqn). This she does and lowers it into the water. Rather reluctantly the fish hand the basket back to her and she pulls it to the bank with Marinke inside. In the same way, the barbasco is dragged through the water in a string bag and the waweri

give up fish into the kusoqn.

The realm of the river, and the relationship between the Arakmbut and the waweri spirits which inhabit this realm, can be grasped through the example of a different technique of fishing. While women usually fish with barbasco, men also fish individually with a line from the banks of the Karene river. One day, when walking by the bank of the river, A. Gray heard a voice muttering in Harakmbut around the bend in the river. On investigation it turned out to be one of the old men of the community who explained that he was talking to the waweri. He had been deep in conversation with the waweri asking them to give him food ('mbeyok aypo'). If he had wanted a particular type of fish he could have specified and asked for a pineapple, plantain or maize because to the waweri, the different kinds of fish are the fruit and crops from their gardens. It was no use asking for a paco fish because, to the waweri, paco is maize; it was no use asking for a mamore fish because, to the waweri, mamore are pineapples.

A fisher who does not know this will never have a good catch but someone who knows the spirits can encourage them and reason with them. On the other hand, after a good catch, a fisher should take care not to fish again for about three days so that the waweri do not have the opportunity to fall in love with him. Should this happen, they could cause him and his wife and children harm through sickness; however, old people (watone), who were already drawing close to the spirits, are in less danger. This incident illustrates how, in order to gain access to the resources of the invisible world which provide food and health, the Arakmbut have to know about and know how to use the forces of the invisible world to their advantage. In a lone fish there is no barbasco in a string bag to encourage the waweri to give fish. However, the lone fisher, like the lone hunter, can build up relations with the spirits

and contact them directly, either through talking with them or through dreaming.

An important way of ensuring that river or forest spirits do not accumulate around the hunter or his family is to ensure that the catch is divided up and distributed through the extended family and along the network of kin and affines. In this way the hunter (or fisher) also receives prestige from being both a good hunter and a generous person and in turn receives a share of the catch of other kin.

Through childhood and youth, activities and learning become increasingly divided according to gender until, at marriage, a man and woman bring together complementary resources and bodies of knowledge for procreation and the continuation of the Arakmbut (see Table 4). A man has direct relations with the spirit world through hunting and fishing and a woman, as a wife, must transform the meat her husband brings from the forest and the realm of the spirits into food that will nourish and fortify her children. If the meat is not cooked well (that is, boiled until any trace of blood is removed) then the spirit of the animal may become too concentrated (toto) and become dangerous. Toto can cause illness and death. For example, fish which is cooked but served cold can be very dangerous. The waweri can attack the eater and cause him/her to vomit followed closely by a sensation when everything apprears red. Death can occur shortly afterwards.

The fishing activity has provided an example of the way in which Arakmbut knowledge and skills are used both in providing food for the family and ensuring that the realm of the river and the waweri is respected and treated with the utmost care. Fishing also illustrates the way in which the relations with the invisible world structure the ability to use knowledge and skills. For example, a muneyo is physically capable of pounding the barbasco and washing the milk through the water

at the beginning of a fish. However, she does not have the knowledge and relationship with the invisible world which would make it safe for her to do these things, both of which would bring her into close contact with the spirits.

Different ways of Acquiring Knowledge

The knowledge needed to be a competent hunter and to father children, or to be a good gardener, cook and mother is acquired in three distinct ways: learned through individual experience and experimentation, received from the spirit world through dreaming, and learned directly from the old people of the community. Someone who o'nopwe (knows) how to hunt, for example white lipped peccary, is someone who has learned through all three ways: personal experience, dreaming and from the elders.

- Experiential Knowledge

A boy must learn about the forest in order to become a hunter. A good hunter is one who can travel far from the community to find game. To do this he must know the forest and the spirits which live there. A boy will learn about hunting by playing with a sling and chasing birds around the edges of the community, in the company of his mother and siblings, and on the almost daily trip to his mother's gardens. At the age of 11 or 12 he will first accompany his father on a trip into the forest where he will watch and learn from him. For the next few years the boy will practice his accuracy through hunting small birds a short distance from the community in the company of age mates, but, as he becomes a young man, he will hunt increasingly alone. Once he has become a wambo, he will progress from small animals towards larger animals such as monkeys and bigger birds. Each trip into the forest is a time for

experimenting and expanding his understanding and knowledge of animal habitats, behaviour and the forest terrain as well as how to track and stalk animals and become a good shot. When a wambo is about 18 years old and has learned to make his own bow and arrows by watching his father, his father will take him to his clan hunting area near a salt lick where tapir, deer and peccary congregate and to water hollows where capybara wallow.

For girls, their experience of cultivating first their mother's gardens, then their own gardens once they are married, provides them with the potential for learning about, and experimenting with, the intricate system of biodiversity which the older women practice. At first a young wetone will have only one garden and in this she will concentrate on growing staple foods, such as plantains, maize, manioc and some fruit trees, crops which complement the meat her husband brings home. As the years go by she will increase the number of gardens she maintains at any one time, and provide not only the quantities of products needed to feed her family but also increase the variety of crops including for example, peanuts, different kinds of sweet potato, avocado pear, pumpkin and different fruits.

However, it is not just a diversity of types of crop that mature women come to know. They also develop an extensive knowledge and expertise in different varieties of each crop. For example, a young married woman grew seven different types of pineapple, all of which she could recognise and name, while a woman some 10 years her senior knew some 10 or eleven types. However, together with one of the elders the senior woman named, in all, 17 types of pineapple which she grew mixed together in gardens on the high ground suited to this crop. Women develop a vast knowledge of different varieties of other crops too, for example plantains, maize and manioc. The gardens are also carefully

planted with other non-edible plants, such as mantaro (achiote).

As women cultivate more gardens they gradually develop more knowledge and understanding about the crops. They learn from the older members of their family or clan about how, after sowing melons, they must go to bed without washing or the melons will not mature and how, when planting sweet potato, a child must drop it into the hole which a woman has prepared and cover it over. Should a woman do this herself she will not be able to light the fire at night and the seed will not produce.

This knowledge extends to plants and fruits in the forest. In San José, a muneyo'po and a muneyo were able to list 27 different edible forest fruits and 7 different edible grubs. This kind of knowledge is built up slowly over years of experience of the forest. Women, too, hold a wealth of knowledge about forest species, especially those for which they have use, such as the different types of setico tree which produce different qualities of fibre for rolling into string, one used for bow strings, another for arrow thread and another for string bags.

Another area of detailed knowledge of the environment is that involved in the building of a house. A nuclear family's stilted hut with thatched roof comprises no fewer than 15 different species each selected for their particular properties, such as durability, strength, lightness, because certain insects do not attack it, etc. One young wambokerek said that when he first married and came to build a house he had very little knowledge of which timber to use but he asked his father and uncles to help him. They pointed out the best types of tree from those available in the vicinity of the village and he chose the particular specimens. Now, some two houses later (houses last between four and seven years on average), he knows himself exactly which timber is best for which part of the house and where to find it. This compares

starkly with the colonists' practice of using chainsaws to build their houses out of one type of wood alone, often mahogany. The houses can be built very quickly but they also deteriorate very quickly too.

- Knowledge Through Dreaming

The spirit world is a very important source of knowledge for the visible world and men and women must slowly build up an ability to contact the invisible world of the spirits. To become a successful hunter, a youth has to know the spirit world as well as the forest and the behaviour of the animals he wishes to hunt. Knowledge and understanding of the invisible world is built up through a combination of different means including myths, songs and stories as well as through direct contact through dreams with the spirits which inhabit it.

In the state of dreaming a person's nokiren leaves their body and moves around in time and space in the invisible world. When children dream they have to be careful because their nokiren are not strongly attached to their bodies and they may be lured away and never return, thus resulting in death. Through dreams a hunter enters a state of 'wayorok' (dreaming) where he receives information about the types of animals he wants to hunt from beneficial spirits called 'ndakyorokeri'. These spirits appear to the hunter in the form of beautiful women and make sexual advances to him in the dream, while at the same time telling him where he should go to hunt and how many animals he can safely kill (for more details see Gray 1983). Women also dream but they do not make their dreams known to others, possibly for fear of creating problems within their marriage should they admit to having dreamt of beautiful young men.

As a man's learning through dreaming and contacting the spirit world increases he may form a particular proclivity for hunting one type

of animal and establish relations with spirits that help him hunt that particular animal. A man's skills as a hunter afford him prestige in the community, though all men have the same opportunities and potential with regards to dreaming and forming a relationship with the spirits of the invisible world. Moreover, though there are no specialised occupations among the Arakmbut, some people develop and accumulate knowledge about certain species and illnesses and how to cure them through chindiqn. They use the knowledge they have gained of the forest and the spirit world throughout their lives to cure. There may be several wamanoka'eri within a community and they will have learned a repertoire of chindiqn from older relatives and, as they become more experienced, they develop their own chindiqn for the particular animal spirits of which they have most knowledge and a closest relationship.

A wamanoka'eri cures by assessing the symptoms of a sick person and performs a chindiqn which fits the symptoms. Particular symptoms are associated with different animal spirits. If the illness seems to stem from a tapir spirit attacking the sick person, the wamanoka'eri will chant a tapir chindiqn which will describe a forest full of the most tempting foods for the tapir and thus, try to lead the animal away from the sick person to a distant part of the forest. Chindiqn contain a vast amount of detailed information about the behaviour and habitat of the animals concerned accumulated by the wamanoka'eri over years.

Sometimes the words used are an archaic form of Harakmbut and sometimes they include animal languages which older members of the community have learned through their contact with the animals. Hence it is only the elders of the society who have this vast knowledge at their fingertips, but, as we noted earlier, they are also the people whose political power and strength is receding as their nokiren becomes less closely attached to their waso and they are attracted more towards the

spirit world and death.

Another kind of dreamer is the 'wayorokeri' who has developed the ability to travel through the invisible world seeking advice and looking into the past, present and future. Someone who wants to become a wayorokeri has to abstain from eating any of the meat he has hunted in order to form a privileged relationship with the forest animals and finally to become conversant with them. Through this relationship the wayorokeri is able to advise other members of the community about where to hunt and guide the community on issues of importance for everyone concerning, for example, the presence of harmful spirits. The wayorokeri uses the knowledge he receives from the spirit world for the benefit of the community.

Since the late 1970s the Arakmbut have also been contacting the spirits through the use of the hallucinogenic plant, 'ayahuasca'. The use of ayahuasca is not traditional to the Arakmbut and was taught to school students at the mission of El Pilar mission by the Ese'eja. Today it is used only by young wambokerek. Those responsible for introducing it to San José (Group 1 men, see p.127) are now no longer practising but prefer to learn more about communicating with the invisible world through dreaming (wayorok).

- Knowledge Passed on by the Elders

The elders in the community are the repositories of much of the mythological knowledge about the society and, as noted above, of a detailed understanding of the forest, the river and the creatures and spirits which inhabit these realms. While every elder, both male and female, knows a considerable number of myths, there are some members of San José who are acknowledged as being better storytellers and know more myths than others. On starry moonlit nights, nights when the spirits

keep well away, the Arakmbut will sit outside listening to stories, enjoying the occasion and laughing and participating in the performance. These are communal events and even though there is one recognised storyteller, other elders and adults supply animal noises, commentaries, jokes and asides which together constitute the atmosphere of the 'performance' and the shared experience.

There are no myths or tales particularly for children and myths in general are not directed at any one person or age group in any pedagogical fashion; instead they are enjoyed by all ages as a communal activity, though it is not until children reach about ten years of age that they are expected to begin to remember parts of a story. Apart from the three large myths, Wanamay, Marinke and Aiwe (cf. Chapter 3), the Arakmbut canon is comprised of relatively short myths which take between half an hour and an hour to tell. Many of the myths are concerned with forest animals, mainly the large animals such as the tapir (keme), the peccary (mokas and akudnui), the caiman (mama), their relationships with hunters and their transformation into human form. There are other myths concerned with gardens and growing crops, for example 'Chiokpo', which tells of a star helping a woman clear weeds and cultivate her garden. Myths deal with the relations between the Arakmbut and the spirits.

There are songs which are concerned with a wide variety of animals and birds, for example, jaguar, tapir, blue and red macaw and catfish. Songs are shorter than myths and deal with what the animals, fish and birds do. Most of the songs are sung by the elders and they are a source of information about the animal concerned. In San José in 1992 there were four or five elders who were recognised as being good singers but two men were admired in particular for their improvised singing using deep throated glottals and a distinctive form of repetition. Younger men also know animal and bird songs but the older men dismiss these songs as

of no substance. The following 'Tapir Song' is an example of the former:

Tapir Song

> The weika bird accompanies the tapir (keme) like a domesticated animal and picks ticks from the tapir's skin with its beak. When the tapir is near it does this. The siru (oriole) also takes ticks out with its beak. The tapir talks to the birds coquettishly. The tapir sings "sss".
>
> The hunter, hearing the weika and the hiss, can kill the tapir because he can hear where he is. When the tapir is shot he runs with happiness. The tapir does not feel the wound and dies happy. The tapir dies. When the tapir dies there is lightning.
>
> The baby tapir follows the old tapir on the path. First the old one then the baby. The small tapir goes with its parents for a year. The tapir boy mates with his mother and girl with her father.
>
> The windak (type of arrowhead) arrow has to be strong to kill the tapir.

In the past, when the Arakmbut lived in a maloca, singing was a regular part of communal life. The old men would sing in the early morning before dawn and at night when everyone was in bed and could listen. This was done to raise the spirits of the young. There would not necessarily be any recognisable words, except perhaps 'o'me' (it is dawning) but the other men would join in. There were also occasions when the elders would use singing in the maloca, for example to encourage the wambo before a fiesta where they would be expected to fight. They gave them moral support and practical advice:

Call to the Youth in the Maloca

> Wawing (maize beer) is ready. Young people, you have to be in high spirits for this fiesta. It may surprise you but we have to fight anyone who offends us. So no one should hang back in a fight. The youths here must fear nothing. This fight is not to the end; it is not like a fight with bow and arrows. It is easy to get close to an enemy. Have no fear. All wambo who are going to receive the e'paimpak in this fiesta should prepare themselves, all those who will get the e'mboqntokoy (lip piercing).
>
> In this fight you have to defend the people of the maloca (wanakeri). Don't get tired in the fight. You will not face any danger. You have practised too. Use your strength to resist the punches. "Ku ku ku" the punches sound horrible

> from far away. People get afraid. But don't get afraid. When you confront them have no fear. The fight is short. It won't last long only a short while. Fight in the middle where the men are. After a few minutes the old men can tell you are good. They will praise you as a good fighter, wamankeri. Let's go to the Karene, to the Kipodnue. Come on!

All young Arakmbut are exposed to these different ways of learning and acquiring knowledge: through direct experience, through the spirit world, and from the elders and from other adults and peers. This knowledge is organised and framed within the parameters which define the Arakmbut world view, such as the existence of the visible and invisible worlds and their relationship with the forest, the river, and the community. However, within this ontological framework a person has the possibility of developing his or her own understanding of the dynamic relationship between these worlds and realms through their own learning and experiences. The greatest wayorokeri help the Arakmbut to interpret and define their relationship with the invisible world at any one time and help them interact safely with it. The Yaromba shaman was a wayorokeri and all members of the community, no matter what clan they belonged to, would consult him and listen to him, though no one was obliged to follow his advice. His knowledge of the river, the forest and the spirit world shaped the understanding which the community held of the spirit world at the beginning of the 1980s. This relationship has since undergone changes and reinterpretations according to subsequent interactions between the visible and the invisible worlds. Thus, an Arakmbut world view is continually changing and being redefined within these parameters.

The Communication of Knowledge and the Learning of Values and Skills

The Arakmbut have two myths which concern a boy learning to fish and hunt, Serowe and Wainaron, respectively. In each myth there is a

grandfather (pane) who is master of the realm and who teaches the boys to hunt and fish and at the same time to establish beneficial relations with the spirits. However, the boy often disobeys the grandfather and suffers for it. Thus the myths do not only tell us about how a boy learns and matures into a man but also about how he learns how to learn.

The Myth of Serowe[2]

There was once a small boy who went bathing very early in the morning. This was dangerous and as he swam he found himself in another world like this one but under the river. He was alone and there was sky, forest and river. Then he saw birds coming. They were river birds such as the heron. They saw him as an enemy and threw stones at him. He tried to run away but they surrounded him. He was nearly caught. But the moon (puqn) came and saved him. The moon was a giant and got rid of the birds. He took the boy to the house where he lived. They stayed there.

The next day they went fishing. The moon was pane (grandfather) and master of the fish. They went to an enormous lake where there were sikidnmbi (semi-mythological whale-like giant fish). The moon waded in. To him the sikidnmbi appeared small like catfish. The moon told the boy to go onto higher ground. The sikidnmbi then approached and the river rose. The boy was safe. The moon caught the fish, broke its head off and threw it away.

The next sikidnmbi approached and the moon told the boy to keep clear as the river rose. The moon got out his fishing arrow made of peach palm with a vine tied to it. He speared the fish. This was meat for himself. Then for the boy he waded further into the water and made a high wave which left countless boquichico leaping on the bank. To the moon these were tiddlers. He sent the boy off to get leaves to wrap them, but in the meantime he wrapped them into a leaf packet so small that you would not have thought there were so many fish inside. Then they went home, smoked the fish and ate food which lay ready prepared by the spirits of the dead who were the moon's servants under the river.

In a few days they went out to hunt sikidnmbi again. They took papaya as bait and harpoon arrows. This time the moon put the papaya into the river and the sikidnmbi approached. The moon sent the boy onto the higher ground. The moon speared the fish as it came. It made so much noise that the boy ran to see what happened. The boy was caught in the wave. There was water up to his neck. The moon saved the boy and got the fish onto the bank. He told the boy off for disobeying him.

They went back to the house and the moon told the boy that he would soon have to return to his own village. They waited

> a few days and in the night they went out to a creek where there were many fish. The moon wove a large fish trap and laid it over the entrance to the inlet. Then he gathered all the fish caught there and threw them onto the beach. The moon told the boy to go and find leaves to wrap them so that he would not see what happened next. While the boy was gone he gathered all the fish and compressed them into a tiny packet of leaves. When the boy came back he could not believe that the moon had put all the fish in one packet. The moon went to find a big leaf to enclose the packet and went off.
>
> When the moon had gone the boy opened the packet. It exploded and the fish shot all over the place. When he returned, the moon was very angry with the boy and he put all the fish back. He led the boy and told him to close his eyes. He pushed him and the boy found himself standing on the river bank near his own house. The Arakmbut could not believe that he was standing there. He had grown to be a young man. He told them to get a fire ready for smoking fish. Then he opened the packet and all the fish grew and flew out. There was plenty for everyone. After they had smoked the fish they cooked it as they liked and ate it.

This myth charts the different stages of learning a boy passes through from fishing in the shallows as a wasipo, standing on the high bank as a wambo with harpoon arrow poised to fire at larger fish, to finally knowing how to make the fish trap, a task performed by wambokerek. It also charts the boy's encounters with the spirit world from his first meeting with them in the guise of river birds which attack him, through his developing relationship with the grandfather of the spirit world under the river, Serowe.

However, it also provides an example of the way in which a child learns. At the beginning of the myth the boy is a child but by the time he returns to his village he is a man. The transformation has happened through a process of learning and growing under the guidance of the moon, the grandfather. As a wasipo, the boy swims in the early morning (which is dangerous for wasipos though beneficial for the growth of wambo'pos) and as a consequence he finds himself unable to control the spirits which he encounters. The moon comes to his aid. When he disobeys the moon during their fishing trip he gets caught in the wave and his

life is put at risk. The moon is angry with him. When he disobeys and opens the packet of fish the moon is angry because he is not yet ready to understand or control this knowledge which comes from the spirit world. Only because he is in the spirit world is he able to be saved. In the myth of Wainaron[3], the boy dies twice and is about to be killed but the old man, (in this myth Manko the 'grandfather of the forest') saves him and he is able to continue learning.

Arakmbut children learning in the visible world must learn to be obedient because they may not get the chances given to the boys in the myths. Obedience comes from having respect for the teacher and what is being taught. The myths tell us that a learner must have patience as well as trust, and that these qualities are bound up with obedience and respect. The boy in Serowe is told to stand on the higher ground because there he will be safe and he will learn. The moon takes steps to protect the child from all types of danger, both from the huge wave and from the power of the spirit world in the packet of fish. The myth of Serowe reinforces the dangers that lurk in the invisible world for a child and the importance of paying heed to adults.

Although the boy in the myth is learning in the spirit world, the skills and knowledge he learns are immediately applicable in the Arakmbut world when he finally returns there. Learning for the Arakmbut is learning for real situations. In the myth the boy is disobedient, and the moon (the grandfather) becomes angry, but he is given another chance to learn. The dangers are also real in the visible world and a child learns, albeit very slowly and from experience, that he/she must do as his elders tell him. The Arakmbut of San José punish their children with stinging nettles, beatings with hands, by twisting their hair and shouting at them when they do something that will either endanger themselves or a sibling in their care. From early age children are

disciplined by instilling a fear of the spirits and they quickly come to associate toto with danger. Adults frequently say "No don't do that, it is toto!" or "toto will take you away!" or "be careful of the jaguar!" Jaguars are associated with toto and their proximity warns of danger from the invisible world.

The careful structuring of learning through age grades ensures that one aspect of learning and knowledge acquisition, such as skill in shooting a harpoon arrow, does not run ahead of another, such as the development of relations with the spirit world, which has the effect of ensuring that the fisher is able eat what he catches without coming to any harm. The moon knew that it would be dangerous for the boy to eat the sikidnmbi but safe for him to eat the smaller fish.

This incident has parallels in the second myth, Wainaron, where the boy eats forbidden meat and dies. The myth of Wainaron also illustrates what we might call an 'Arakmbut learning theory'. As with Serowe, it is concerned with a boy learning to hunt, in this case in the forest. Though these myths are only concerned with boys and there are no parallel myths for girls and female activities, this does not imply that the same 'learning theory' is not applicable to girls, only that the particular skills of fishing and hunting bring men into more direct and potentially dangerous contact with the spirit world.

A young woman learns in the course of cultivating together with her mother in the gardens, and carrying out expeditions into the forest and along the rivers at different times of the year for peach palm (ho), aguaje (kotsi), turtles eggs, different kinds of pupae from tree bark (for example the brazil nut tree) and bamboo. She learns how to plant, punt a canoe and about where and when to collect fruit in the forest primarily through her own experience and experimentation, often in the company of age mates. She learns about the spirit world through dreaming

and she learns the myths, songs and chindiqn from her mother and the older women with whom she spends a large part of each day.

In the myths, Serowe and Wainaron, the respective 'masters' have taught the boys enough to launch them into adulthood and their relations with the invisible world, from where their learning will deepen and their knowledge will grow throughout their lives depending on the interest and effort the individual is prepared to exert. Before contact with the Dominican missionaries and their move to Shintuya mission, Arakmbut wambo would seek out an older relative, a father or an uncle, from whom they would begin to learn more about the spirit world and hunting to prepare themselves for the approaching e'paimpak ceremony and entry into manhood. Today young wambo and wambokerek seek out older members of the community, usually from the same clan but not always, from whom they can begin to learn songs and details about the forest and the spirit world. The teachers are sought out by the learners, not the other way round. There is no specific age for learning these things after a man has become a wambokerek, but more to do with an individual's interest in learning and spending time with the elders.

One San José elder is teaching his son-in-law chindiqn and they spend a short time together each day. His own son is also learning but more slowly. The son says he finds it very hard to remember the information and the names of the animals and forest species. There is no pressure upon him to learn and, as he is not a particularly keen hunter, he does not feel the knowledge imperative. In fact he admits to having to stay to the well marked paths when out tracking animals lest he get lost. Another young wambokerek appeared one night with a tape recording of a collared peccary chindiqn (mokas chindiqn) to which he had been listening with great interest but not much understanding. He took the recording to an old man who was acting as his 'mentor' in order to have

some of the chindiqn explained. This old man answered some questions then obliged the younger by taping two songs about the jaguar. The elders have found that taping their songs and chindiqns gives them prestige and the particular songs and chindiqns continue to be identified with the teller.

Children are exposed to myths, songs and to a lesser extent chindiqn from a very early age and continue to hear them throughout their lives. In the course of children's learning from parents and from direct experience, and as they pass through the different age grades, they find in the myths and songs new potential and new depths of understanding and knowledge. A boy who has heard the myth of Wainaron since he can first remember may gradually find it taking on a new significance as begins to explore the forest and search for small birds and lizards.

Similarly, the young wambokerek listen to chindiqn and begin to value them more as they understand more about the forest animals through their hunting and dreaming. However, they will not practise them or perform them in public. This would be inappropriate because a) of their relative youth and inexperience with the spirit world, and b) because their inability to perform them well would lead to ridicule and chastisement, just as Chipomeme is first ridiculed and then dies for inappropriate behaviour (cf. p.153).

To be knowledgable for the Arakmbut is to be able to be seen to use knowledge for beneficial ends, either as a successful hunter, a successful curer (wamanoka'eri), or a successful dreamer (wayorokeri). A curing session or a hunting session that does not result in either restoration of health or the production of meat are due to factors in the invisible world. Knowledge is not stored in the brain but is recognised to exist if it has practical application, such as the

production of meat and the curing of sickness caused by 'unhealthy' relations with the spirit world. If a chindign cures a patient then it is because the wamanoka'eri is wise. If not, then it has been the wrong diagnosis and the wrong chindign. Learning is demonstrable and knowledge is meant to be used.

In summary, Arakmbut learning theory can be traced in the mythology. It stresses the importance of respect and trust in the teacher and obedience and patience in the learner, and reinforces the importance of the different stages of development, knowledge and skill acquisition in order to ensure that learning about both the visible and the invisible world both proceed apace. The myths highlight the way in which learning comes about through the process of watching and listening to elders. The final section looks at the processes involved in learning which have been outlined in the myths.

The Process of Learning

Learning to make a bow or a string bag, for example, adheres to the same principles as those exemplified in the myths: respect for the teacher, an intrinsic desire to want to learn and learning through real life situations where the fruits of the learning can be put to immediate practical use. Through the example of a girl learning to make a reed mat (wawedn) we can look more closely at the interaction which takes place between learner and teacher and the distinct steps involved.

It is not possible to find an instance in Arakmbut society of a mother deliberately setting out to teach her daughter how to make a wawedn. Learning to make a mat takes place over a long time scale wherein the learner becomes acquainted with the context (in this case the river bank and the village), the materials (bamboo and bark) and the sequencing of the activity through repeated watching and gradual

participation in different stages of the mat making process. Reed mats are made exclusively by women (wetone) and young women (muneyo). A ten year old girl (muneyo'po), Susanna, was able to perform all the different stages in a mat's production, though she had not yet produced a mat from start to finish. Making mats is not an appropriate activity for a ten year old girl. Her elder sister, who was 17, could and did make reed mats. Susanna's mother, Maria, made new sleeping mats for the family when they were needed though Susanna helped with different stages, for example, when her mother had to stop to breastfeed her youngest sibling or prepare a meal for her father.

This structuring of learning is found with the learning of many of the activities and responsibilities which a muneyo'po will assume on becoming a muneyo, such as making a string bag (wenpu) for her prospective husband; jointing meat; cooking meat, fish and garden produce; carrying produce over long distances from the gardens to the community; paddling and poling a canoe and many other skills. In this way, a muneyo'po like Susanna, is not presented with a task with which she cannot cope, either physically, intellectually or in relation to the invisible world.

Social interaction between learner and teacher has been documented in several studies of learning strategies in informal situations where the learner brings extensive 'pre-knowledge' to the learning situation and the teacher is concerned that an activity or item is produced according to the learner's ability (see Little 1990; Laserna 1989; Philips 1972; Childs and Greenfield 1980). In this way the teacher ensures that the child does not 'fail' in the activity or in producing the item. In San José, however, mistakes made by the learner in particular steps or procedures were often the focus of ridicule by siblings, parents and age mates. Susanna's mother remembered with some

distaste as a muneyo being shouted at in front of others by an old aunt for planting peanuts (bodnpi) the wrong way when she was in living in Shintuya mission. She was scolded for not following the adults' example, just as the boys in the myths of Serowe and Wainaron were. Ridicule is a widespread means of sanctioning and is used to ensure that no one person excels or rises above others. While in the classroom the teachers encourage the children to display their learning before others, in the community any display of this kind is stamped out through ridicule. This has the effect of ensuring equality.

Laserna considers learning to cook and learning to milk in terms of the social relations and the manner in which the teacher, in Susana's case her mother, constructs a 'scaffold' or support system around a novice to allow a task to be performed successfully (Laserna op. cit.). We can consider the learning taking place in San José, therefore, in terms of a Vygotskian approach whereby learning is seen as a transaction between the learner and the teacher and it is this social transaction between those involved which is the fundamental vehicle of education, unlike in the formal schooled context where solo, individual performance is crucial (Bruner 1985). Among indigenous Navajo of North America, McCarty provides evidence which supports the kind of learning processes displayed in San José.

> Knowledge is built through the recursive expansion of children's prior understanding, in meaningful dialogue and socially significant interaction. Learners in this process play a determinant role; they are active seekers and users of knowledge (McCarty 1991:51-2).

Examples of active and interactive learning with more skilled members of the society are to be found throughout Arakmbut daily life. A young wambo, Miguel, learning to drive his father's canoe with 40hp outboard engine, was entrusted with the controls on every outing which the family made. However, on one journey the river was particularly

narrow and the level of the water quite low making circumnavigation of tree trunks and protruding tree debris very difficult and potentially dangerous. As the current became stronger an elder brother helped by calling instructions from the bow of the canoe and another brother sat beside Miguel. At a crucial point he took over the controls. Miguel did not resist or show any displeasure at having the controls taken from him and he resumed control once the danger had passed. This learning partnership was expected and reassuring, and it allowed him to tackle new and more complex situations from a within secure and 'scaffolded' situation. No one in the family commented on the wambo's skills and the whole trip passed without incident which was, of course, what everyone expected. The rather coy grin on Miguel's face, however, was evidence that he was pleased with his performance, and he interpreted the lack of comment of any sort from his family as recognition of his growing skills. Had the boat collided or overturned then the two older brothers, not Miguel, would have been held responsible.

When girls (wasipo) learn to roll string for the first time they sit together beside their mothers, aunts and older siblings in the familiar context of an early morning or mid afternoon gathering in the shade of a large tree. I observed two six year old girls in their early attempts to master the technique of rolling fibres from the setico tree across their thighs. The fibres were already washed and prepared and a small piece of string already rolled to which they were trying to attach further fibres. From time to time an older member of the group looked at the results of their labours, did some themselves, then returned the string to the girls so they could continue. Unlike the classroom procedures in San José school, there was no verbal explanation of the sequence of procedures or the aims of the process and no demonstration

Table 5: A Comparison of Arakmbut and School Learning Strategies
(adapted from Teasdale 1993)

LEARNING STRATEGIES OF THE ARAKMBUT OF SAN JOSE (WITHOUT SCHOOL)	FORMAL LEARNING STRATEGIES ENCOUNTERED IN THE SAN JOSE SCHOOL
CONTEXT	
Learning takes place in the context of everyday life. Learning is 'person' oriented and knowledge is owned by individnals. Learning is oriented to benefit the collectivity.	Learning is abstracted from the life and environment of the community and its intercnltnral relations with the wahaipes. Knowledge is information oriented and accessible to all, in theory, but geared towards individual achievement.
Medium	
A variety of modalities is employed. Language (only the Harakmbnt langnage) is a relatively unimportant aspect of an integrated behaviourial pattern. Learning is an active and interactive process and experimental with a high degree of learner autonomy and extrinsic motivation. Knowledge and learning comes through dreaming, experimentation and from elders.	Langnage is essential, particularly the written langnage. The use of the spoken language is rigidly controlled by the teacher and exclusively in Spanish. Learners are extrinsically motivated and knowledge and learning derive from written texts (books or from the blackboard) and the teacher.
Content	
Emphasis is on skills and nnderstanding the relationship between the visible and the invisible world through practising these skills. Learning is for a practical use, whether to be able to hunt well or, related to this, to maintain stability between these worlds and in Arakmbnt society.	Formal learning is an end in itself and comprises predominantly reading, writing and mathematics. Application of learning to real-life situations demands considerable skill and initiative which the formal system does not provide or foster. Learning is a preparation for change and 'progress'.
Structure	
Much learning takes place incidentally during the socialisation of an individual into the culture. No specialised office of teacher or any other specialist within a very egalitarian society where ridicule is a strong censure. Proficient adults and peers provide role models. Flexible time constraints. Learning as an adult is initiated by the learner and a 'mentor' sought out from among senior clansmen. Access to knowledge is restricted by age grades and gender and the ability to use knowledge and learning is strnctured by relations with the invisible world.	Education is consciously planned to be delivered to groups of learners by agents specifically selected to fulfil the role of knowledge transmitters. The highly structured system breaks down however in the school because of excessive bureaucratisation, lack of supervision and extreme isolation of school and teachers.

by an adult. Moreover, the girls received no verbal or non-verbal demonstration of praise or denigration and the girls did not attempt to display the results of their labours for general comment. On the contrary, the girls were very quiet but diligent. They had obviously been encouraged about their string rolling because early the next morning they were sitting together on a trunk outside their kitchen trying to improve on their previous attempts[4].

This section has demonstrated the way in which learner and teacher interact. As with the boy in the myth of Serowe, the girls learned according to their age and their previous learning. New learning is built upon previous knowledge and experience, both of which are brought to play in a context which is familiar and in which the learner feels secure. The girls learned the technique of rolling string by watching the older women. While the interaction was predominantly non-verbal, the string rolling took place in a highly verbal context, as the daily gathering of women is a lively forum for discussion and exchange of information. However, unlike the boy in Serowe, the girls learning to roll string had already understood the rules about how to learn through respect for their elders and the knowledge that they hold.

The chapter as a whole has provided an insight into educational processes which stand in sharp contrast to those of the formal school in San José (see Table 5). Through their own culturally and socially discrete learning 'system' the Arakmbut acquire knowledge and understanding of the world in which they live. The understanding defines and is defined by an individuals' sex, clan, age, group, residence and language. Furthermore, all these characteristics are related to the invisible world of the spirits which inhabit the river and forest. Through a person's life her/his relationship with the spirit world changes as well as her/his ability to challenge the spirits and protect

both her/his self and other family members from the dangers that the spirit world can bring. Knowledge is private and belongs to the person, but a person is only recognised as knowledgable and skilled when she/he uses that knowledge in a demonstrable way for the benefit of the community.

Consequently, for the Arakmbut, learning to hunt, fish, garden and collect in the forest is fundamentally related to learning about the spirits and the invisible world, and about how to make contact and use them beneficially. Moreover, it is from the world of the spirits themselves, through the myths of Serowe, Wainaron and others, that the Arakmbut learn how they should learn and about the guiding principles in acquiring skills and knowledge and how to apply them. In applying the principles found in the myths children, youths and adults acquire the knowledge that will enable them to be proficient, productive and strong Arakmbut for lifelong learning. The spirit world is a source of knowledge for the Arakmbut and the Arakmbut themselves are constantly interpreting and creating their culture and world view through changing relationships between the visible and invisible worlds.

Footnotes

1. The ethnographic information on the wandik, waso and nokiren was collected during a period of fieldwork carried out together with A. Gray in San Jose in 1980-91. It has been analysed in Gray 1983.

2. The version of Serowe and Wainaron presented here are the same as those used by Gray (1983) where he considered them in terms of gender complementarity.

3. The following is a precis of the myth of Wainaron.
A boy and his father go hunting and the father is killed by a monster parrot. The boy meets an old man (Manko) who says he will kill the parrot. First of all, the old man shoots all kind of animals and small birds for the boy to eat. He tells the boy to go far from the tree while he kills the parrot but the boy disobeys and the parrot falls on him and kills him. The old man breaths life back into the boy.
They go home with their meat and the boy is told to watch but not

eat the parrot meat which is cooking. He eats it and dies. The old man brings him back to life and scolds him for being disobedient. The parrot meat is for man-eating toads and the old man tells the boy how to protect himself from these spirits. However, the boy is careless and does not notice that the gourd into which he should urinate in order to become invisible has holes in it. The toads smell the boy and come to kill him. The old man rescues the boy yet again and tells him it is time to go home. He gives the boy a bow and arrows to take with him, signifying the boy's maturity. Unwittingly he uses the arrows to kill Manko and returns to his community a young man.

4. Lave argues that knowledge-in-practice, constituted in the settings of practice, is the locus of the most powerful knowledgeability of the peoples in the lived-in world (1988:14). This is borne out by the San José examples of how children learn and what they learn. It also reinforces her statement that 'Culture is based in everyday life experience and vice-versa' (ibid.). Rival uses Lave's construction of practice theory to discuss cultural continuity and schooling among the indigenous Huaorani of Amazonian Ecuador and concludes that, for the Huaorani, culture is not a repertoire of texts and semantic meanings, but the product of practical knowledge constituted through direct engagement in the world (Rival n.d.).

CHAPTER 7: MAINSTREAM EDUCATION FOR COLLECTIVE PURPOSES: HARAKMBUT STUDENTS IN THE FORMAL SYSTEM

Chapters 4 and 5 discussed the gulf that exists between the teachers' and the community's perception of the aims and purpose of the school. This gulf was brought into sharp focus by the discussion of Arakmbut learning processes and the nature of Arakmbut knowledge in the previous chapter. This chapter is concerned with the pressures and expectations upon students at different levels of the formal education system and how these may influence student achievement. It charts the educational career of Elias, the first student from San José to go on to university studies, and whose progress through the different levels and institutions is illustrative of the quality and nature of education for indigenous students in the Madre de Dios today.

The further up the education system a student moves, the more he/she has to step out of the cultural domain of the community and into that of the national society, which includes the school. This presents students with a potential dilemma because of the apparently incompatible aims of the two domains: the formal education system with its individualistic goals and promise of social mobility and an earned income which are to be achieved within the national society; and the Arakmbut society, an egalitarian society built upon collective goals and where prestige and respect are gained through non-competitive and non-monetary means. In Arakmbut society, the invisible world acts as a levelling mechanism, whereby a fisher or a hunter must regulate his catch in order to acquire respect and maintain a healthy family. Respect comes from giving and sharing of food while respect for being knowledgeable is recognised when knowledge is used in practices such as curing for the collective benefit of the community rather than for the

material benefit of the individual. This chapter considers the extent to which these features are mutually exclusive and ways in which the Arakmbut of San José are trying to reconcile them.

The first section is concerned with primary schooling. It considers the academic performance of San José students in relation to figures for the Department of Madre de Dios and the Amazon region and looks at factors which influence individual achievement in San José. The second section looks at the academic performance of San José and Arakmbut students at secondary schooling and at the pressures on them arising from the move from community-based primary school to urban and/or mission secondary school. The third section considers higher education, the pressures on students at this level and factors influencing their awareness of indigenous identity.

Elias is a student from San José who is at present completing a degree in economics at the University of Garcilaso de la Vega in Lima. His educational biography, drawn up through a series of structured interviews, provides an insight into the whole gamut of religious, state and private educational institutions through which indigenous students pass. It also elucidates the wide range of often conflicting experiences and influences to which indigenous students are exposed in the course of a formal education that increasingly distances and isolates them from their community.

Primary Schooling - the Academic Record for the San José School

Primary School in San José

Elias was born in the mission of Shintuya in 1966 and was only a small child when his family fled from Shintuya and settled in the river Karene. He attended the San José school when it was initiated by his uncle, Tomas, in 1973. Elias sings Tomas' praises as a teacher.

However, one day in 1976 a Padre from El Pilar came to San José and persuaded the parents of seven boys to let them complete their primary schooling at the mission school of El

> Pilar near Puerto Maldonado. Elias had been to Puerto Maldonado once or twice with his family and was excited at the prospect of being close to town. Initially, his mother did not want him to go but eventually relented.

Elias' experience of primary school as a boarder at the Dominican school of El Pilar was a complete contrast to the village school he had hitherto attended. Today, Elias looks back on the village school as a happy time and attributes much of this to Tomas' sensitivity towards his students (cf. p.61-62). In this he echoes the feelings of other indigenous peoples who at that time were demanding indigenous teachers:

> When the teacher is a Spanish speaker working in a native community, he does not have the same patience that the native teacher has. In the first place, because he doesn't know the culture, the real world of the native child, he doesn't give importance to, or take interest in, the tremendous reactions and cultural shocks that the child suffers in school (Wipio 1981:78).

However, the rest of the community did not share this perspective and on request RESSOP sent a non-indigenous teacher to San José in 1982. This teacher did not stay long and was replaced by another lay-missionary in 1983 (the year in which school records are first available). In 1984 another lay-missionary took over the directorship of the school and she taught there for eight years (the '1991 Director') with different support teachers. From 1982, therefore, the community had what it wanted in terms of lay-missionary teachers and a 'noble' school. We will consider pupil academic achievement according to the school records and compare this with figures available for the Madre de Dios and other parts of Peru.

Academic achievement is measured by both parents, teachers and students in terms of passing and failing exams. Throughout the education system, from primary through to tertiary level, pupils are assessed on a score of 1 to 20. In primary school, pupils are subjected to monthly written assessments and receive a mark out of 20 for each area of the

Table 6: 1983 Grade 1 Cohort, San José Primary School

NAME	SEX	AGE 1983	YEAR 1983	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	EDUCATION STATUS	PRESENT SITUATION
A	M	12	1	1	1	1	2	3F					Dropped out	Working gold with family
B	M	10	1	1	2F								Dropped out	Married, gold working
C	M	11	1	1	3	4	5	6	-	S1	S2	S3F	Dropped out	Working gold with family
D	M	11	1	1	2	3	4	5F					Dropped out	Gold working/ shopkeeper
E	M	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	S1	S2	S3	S4	Dropped out	Gold working independent of family
F	M	9	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	S1	S2		Dropped out	Gold working with family
G	M	8	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	S1	S2	S3	Continuing	Boarding at Sepahua
H	M	6	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	-	S1	S2	Continuing	Boarding at Sepahua
I	M	6	1	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	S1	S2	Continuing	Boarding with FENAMAD
J	F	11	1	1	2	3	4	5	6				Stopped	Married and had child
K	F	9	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	S1	S2	S3	Dropped out	Had child; in San José working with mother
L	F	9	1	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	S1		Dropped out	In San José working with mother
M	F	6	1	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	S1		Dropped out	In San José working with mother
N	F	6	1	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	S1	S2	Continuing	Boarding at Santa Cruz

1 indicates grade at primary school
S1 indicates grade at secondary school
F1 indicates grade failed and dropped out

curriculum which is recorded in the school Register of Evaluation; marks over 10 are recorded in blue and marks of 10 or less in red, indicating a fail. At the end of the school year these marks are averaged and a pass grade certificate is awarded to those who acquire 11 or over. Those with an average fail mark of 10 or less repeat the grade in the next academic year. Primary education is six grades/years while secondary education is five grades/years.

In terms of student performance in general in the Department of Madre de Dios, the Education Policy Proposal (CAAAP 1992) reports high dropout and repetition rates of up to 30 per cent in some areas. CAAAP considers that this rate reflects the poor quality of the education provided. Madre de Dios has approximately a 16 per cent dropout rate for the Department as a whole (Tovar 1989:170). Considering the figures for San José, the dropout rates per year between 1983 and 1988 indicate that the school had considerably lower dropout rates than the Department as a whole (see Table 7). Since 1989 the school has registered a 0 dropout rate.

Table 7: Dropout Rate in San José School 1983-1988

YEAR	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
NO. PUPILS	35	28	30	25	27	32
DROPOUT	0%	7%	6.6%	0%	0%	6.2%

A study carried out in four regions of the Central and Northern Rainforest into the educational situation of the indigenous communities, indicates that indigenous students take an average of 10 years to complete primary school (Gasché et al. 1987:65). In one area within this study, the Alto Marañon region, only 15 per cent of male students and 8 per cent of female students completed primary schooling in 6 years. Chirif (1991) finds the most worrying aspect of these figures not the length of time which the children spend in primary school itself, but

the poor quality of the education which they receive and the loss of knowledge about their own society that this represents both in terms of time away from their family and cultural activities. Most worrying of all is the "ethnocidal" nature of the formal education (Chirif op. cit.). The response to this situation has been the development of the training course for teachers in Intercultural bilingual education in Iquitos (the AIDESEP/ISPL project, discussed in Chapter 9).

From the cohort of 14 children who began San José school in Grade 1 in 1983 (Table 6), only 14 per cent (2 students) completed primary school in 6 years; 35.7 per cent completed in 7 years; and 28.6 per cent took 8 years to complete six grades (see Table 8). 85 per cent of students repeated one or more grades and 21.4 per cent of the cohort dropped out. Table 6 illustrates the tendency which has continued over the decade for students to repeat grade one more frequently than subsequent grades.

Table 8: Number of Years to Complete Primary School in San José

1983 Cohort	NO. OF YEARS SPENT COMPLETING PRIMARY SCHOOL			DROPOUT	TOTAL
	6	7	8		
% of children	14.3	35.7	28.6	21.4	100
No. of children	2	5	4	3	14

Ten years later, of 9 students graduating from primary school in 1993, 3 completed school in 6 years, 4 in 7 years, 1 in eight years and 1 in 9 years. These figures indicate that the San José students complete primary school in a shorter period than their indigenous counterparts in the Alto Marañon region.

RESSOP has responded to the relatively high rates of repetition in early grades throughout its schools by introducting an 'initial' class

in line with recommendations made by the Ministry of Education's Five Year Plan (1981-1986) and the Major Project. The latter emphasised the importance of the expansion of pre-school education through "formal and non-formal programmes...expanding its action to the mother and the family" (UNESCO/OREALC 1989:18). The Ministry of Education, moreover, stresses that it should "take into account the plurilingual situation and the values pertaining to the community" and "be in the mother tongue" (Ministry of Education, Reglamento de Educación Inicial Decree Law No. 01-83-ED, 1988, Article 52 Part 4, Chapter I). RESSOP views the 'Initial' grade as a means of helping reduce indigenous pupils' age at completion of Primary by starting their schooling earlier. While the Major Project expressed concern for children whose parents and family cannot provide the 'necessary stimulus' for pre-literacy or pre-school learning experiences, RESSOP has interpreted this to mean that Arakmbut children should be brought under the influence of the Spanish-medium school as early as possible in order to give them maximum exposure to Spanish and try to 'compensate' them for their 'disadvantage' by providing quantitatively more schooling[1].

The San José and Puerto Luz teachers expected that 'Initial' grade would address the problems of overwhelming shyness and silence on the part of children first entering school at 6 years of age, which they felt were signs of problems in adapting to the school environment and consequently stunted their academic development. Part of this problem they attributed to a lack of parental stimulation. One teacher said that the lack of trips to town, holidays and a orientation to Mestizo life was a major drawback and was reflected in the students' initial poor response to schooling. "Here they just go to the forest" she said and shrugged (pers. comm. Filomena 21.11.91)[2]. Nevertheless, the parents' disapproval of Initial education was demonstrated in the 100 per cent

dropout rate for the Initial class in 1992 (cf p.115).

Compared with average marks given to indigenous students in the study by Gasché et al. (op. cit.) in four regions in the Central and Northern Amazon, the marks achieved by the San José students suggest that they were performing considerably better (see Tables 9 and 10). The study looked at an average of five communities in each region and included 9 one-teacher schools and 11 multi-teacher schools. The levels of bilingualism varied as did the frequency of contact with Mestizo society. In the Bajo Huallaga region the children were all Spanish speaking. The average marks are given for aggregated subjects (language, maths, natural sciences and history and social sciences) for 6th Grade students.

Table 9: Comparison of 6th Grade Marks between Indigenous Amazon Regions for 1987

REGION	No. of Students	Average marks in four subjects
Alto Marañon (Aguaruna)	29	02.2
Ampiyacu (Huitoto, Bora, Ocaina)	21	03.0
Perene (Ashaninka)	25	05.8
Bajo Huallaga (Cocama, Cocamilla)	13	04.2
San José school (Arakmbut)	1	15.0

Table 10: Comparison of 6th Grade Marks for San José School 1983-1992

SAN JOSE SCHOOL	No. of Students	Average marks in four subjects
1983	5	13.0
1984	-	-
1985	4	14.9
1986	1	15.0
1987	1	15.0
1988	3	12.9
1989	n/a	-
1990	4	14.9
1991	4	14.4
1992	-	-

Altogether the figures from the San José school, when compared with other figures available for the Madre de Dios and other indigenous Amazon communities present a picture of a school with relatively high achieving and 'successful' students. Nevertheless, when the 1992 Director began teaching he was shocked by what he perceived to be students' low academic standards and bad behaviour (pers. comm. E. Fernandez 26.6.92) in comparison with his experience in multi-teacher schools close to urban centres where educational support and supervisory facilities were far superior. In Chapter 4, we suggested that this perceived discrepancy may have been part of a 'fictionalisation' of the school reality (cf. p.82) and also a strategy employed by the 1991 teachers to aid their survival in a non-cooperative community. Another possible explanation for this discrepancy is that the 1991 teachers awarded marks according to a very different set of standards to, for example, the teachers in the 15 schools in the 4 Central and Northern Rainforest regions (cf. Table 9) and to the 1992 Director. This situation may have come about for a variety of reasons and

circumstances.

As Chapter 4 illustrated, the 1991 Director, throughout her eight years service, worked in extreme isolation where both her work and her students were subject to few outside controls. The grades awarded to students were never subject to moderation but awarded according to the Director's own criteria of excellence on a very autonomous scale. In contrast to the 1992 Director, the 1991 Director had long experience in Arakmbut schools but little experience of non-Harakmbut or non-indigenous schools and students. This situation may have contributed to both her strength and her weakness vis-à-vis her San José pupils. On the weakness side, it may have contributed to an unrealistically low set of standards for San José students in terms of regional and national academic standards (which is proved to be the case when San José primary students begin secondary school, as is discussed in the next section). On the other hand the marks awarded to the students may have reflected what the Director perceived to be realistic achievement of her Arakmbut students, given their cultural and linguistic background and their isolation from a "Mestizo way of life" (cf. p.191).

The decrease in dropouts over the period 1983-1993 in the San José school may reflect the institutionalisation of the Director's particular routine in the school and an increasing familiarity and ease with this regime by both students and parents which in turn had a positive influence on school performance. This decrease may also reflect the community's overall satisfaction with their lay-missionary and 'noble' school, for which they themselves had petitioned. As Chapters 4 and 5 illustrate, the Arakmbut of San José value the school (though an outside institution confined within its school domain). Whether consciously or unconsciously done, the awarding of relatively high marks, and the decrease in dropouts combined to produce a situation where the community

was satisfied with the school and the education it afforded their children in terms of their success in the grade system. This situation had the positive influence of boosting community morale vis-à-vis the colonist population around them and at the same time raised the status of the Director and teacher as well as community respect for them (though as we saw her position was not unassailable). Nevertheless, the relatively high grades may also reflect the Director's very real commitment to her work, to the community of San José and her strong affection for her pupils. However, when we look closely, the situation appears more complicated.

Success and Failure within the San José Autonomous School

So far we have considered the academic achievement of San José students as a whole, that is as individuals with the same cultural and linguistic background. Consequently, in a consideration of labels of school 'success' and school 'failure', general cultural continuities or discontinuities in terms of styles of communication, interaction, cognition and motivational style, classroom social organisation and social relations are broadly common to all. From the Register of Achievement for the San José school, the variations in individual performance in the San José school do not appear to be great. Between 1984 and 1991, during the reign of the 1991 Director, marks awarded in all subjects did not fall below 7 or rise above 16. No one pupil stands out from the others as performing exceedingly well or badly in terms of marks awarded. But some San José children repeat grades more than others and some drop out, while others smoothly complete primary in 6 years.

The two 1991 teachers identified two distinct groups of San José students according to their academic ability. In terms of repetition, the teachers' Group A do better in school than Group B, which comprises

students with the highest rates of repetition and the highest numbers of repetition for one single grade (see Table 11). The ratios male:female are 1:1 in both groups.

Table 11: Groupings in San José School According to Numbers of Repeated Grades

Children's Group	A	B
Percentage of Children in School* 1991 (Grades 1-6)	46	54
Percentage of Grades Repeated	19	81

However, Table 12 suggests that there are several students in the teachers' Group B who, according to marks awarded for 1991, ought to belong to Group A (for example students 14, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26). When the groupings of parents discussed in Chapter 5 are mapped onto the teachers' Groups A and B, the groups become more clearly defined. Group A children belong overwhelmingly to families who support and have a positive attitude towards the school and the teachers (Group 1 parents). Group B students are those with Group 2 parents, that is parents with little interest in the school and little support for the teachers. The extent to which the groups reflect variations in intellectual capacity is beyond the scope of this enquiry but we can ask to what extent the Groups reflect an intricate web of expectations by teachers and parents which influence and interact with pupils own expectations, irrespective of their academic marks, and with their sense of commitment and motivation to formal schooling[3].

Concerning the children in Group A, the teacher made the following remarks: attentive, neat, clean, a bit shy, helpful and accommodating. They comprised a high percentage of the teachers' god-children. Teachers

Table 12: 1991 San José Students Grouped by Polythetic Criteria

Student 1991	Group	Parent Compadre	Year Mark	Parents' Group	Teacher's Comments
1	A	yes	12	1	Positive
2	A	yes	15	1	Positive
3	A	yes	15	1	Positive
4	A	yes	15	1	Positive
5	A	yes	13	1	Positive
6	A	no*	14	1	Positive
7	A	yes	15	1	Positive
8	A	no*	15	1	Positive
9	A	yes	15	1	Positive
10	A	yes	15	1	Positive
11	A	yes	13	1	Positive
12	A	yes	15	1	Positive
13	B	no	15	2	Positive
14	B	no	14	2	Negative
15	B	no	10	2	Negative
16	B	no	10	2	Negative
17	B	no	12	2	Negative
18	B	no	10	2	Ambivalent
19	B	no	14	2	Ambivalent
20	B	no	10	2	Negative
21	B	no	10	2	Negative
22	B	no	14	2	Ambivalent
23	B	no	13	2	Negative
24	B	no	14	2	Positive
25	B	no	14	2	Ambivalent
26	B	no	14	2	Negative

* denotes that the teacher is compadre with grandparents or other close family member. The ratio male:female in the school in 1991 was 6:7 with boys and girls spread throughout all grades.

had expectations for the academic success of these children and their parents assumed that they would go on to secondary education. They came closest to the teachers expectations of the 'ideal pupil'. Keddie (1971) discusses the organising categories which teachers used for allocating pupils in a study to the category of the 'ideal' type: ability and social class[4]. In the context of San José, the teachers distinguish their 'good' or 'ideal' pupils largely in terms of the social group to which their parents belong (i.e. Group 1 or 2, Group 3 had no school-age children), which in turn reflects the receptivity of the parents to schooling, the teachers and the mission, as well as being a source of positive motivation for the children. A 'good' pupil is someone whose silence is interpreted as 'shyness' rather than laziness and who volunteers to sweep the school on a Saturday morning. A 'good' pupil is relatively responsive compared to the 'unreceptive' silent students.

Parents of Group A children considered secondary schooling might enhance their children's success in activities such as gold panning, lumbering, cattle rearing and agriculture, though their expectations in terms of future economic benefits were unclear given the rapidly changing environment in the River Karene. In this group several fathers had received rudimentary training in woodwork, animal husbandry and monocultivation during their own mission boarding school education. These parents were the 'successes' of the Dominican 'civilising' scheme. In turn, they were most receptive to the educational goals of the RESSOP teachers. It was their relatively pro-teacher stance and the informal division of students into 'good' and 'unreceptive' that produced accusations of favouritism at the meeting which led to the removal of the 1991 teachers (cf. Chapter 5).

Children from Group B achieved the lowest marks and most often repeated grades. The teachers expressed no enthusiasm about these pupils

and, on the contrary, their remarks were limited to expressions of weariness about what they perceived as lack of academic ability. Teachers comments on children in this group included: unreceptive, single-minded, inattentive, slow, really needs special education, forgets all he learns, mother takes no interest, doesn't take care of things, disruptive siblings. Parents of children in this group had no formal education or had themselves dropped out as 'failures' from Dominican school.

Within the community, the 1991 teachers' god-children failed grades less frequently than those children who were not her god-children or from families without links of compadrazgo. The question arises as to the extent to which the teachers' may have had a bias, conscious or otherwise, towards the children in Group A. On the other hand, intervening factors affecting school performance, such as a relatively positive attitude towards both the school, the teachers and the objectives of both in the home, may have influenced pupils' own perceptions of the school which were then translated into greater motivation and reflected in turn in higher marks and fewer failures and repetitions. In research carried out in 1974, Ogbu noted how a minority community's members' perceptions of their future opportunities in the post-school opportunity structure influenced their response to schooling (1987:313). In San José where future prospects for traditional pursuits such as hunting and fishing are deteriorating, Group 1 parents had vaguely defined expectations that schooling would benefit their children in their search for alternative occupations (particularly their sons[5]). However, everyone saw their children's futures as firmly established within the community rather than outside of it.

There were, however, two children (see Table 12, numbers '13' and '24') whose parents fall into Group 2 and, despite a lack of any initial

expectations from the teacher, came to be considered in a positive light. In both these cases an explanation can be offered in terms of the nature of the individuals themselves which alerts us to the dangers of over-categorising according to the above Groups. Student '13' displayed a particular dedication to his work and a gentle nature which won him a place in the Director's estimation and consequently her attention. Student '26' astounded both her parents and teacher by her determination to use schooling as a means of getting away from the control of both her parents and the teachers. By 1993 she had dropped out of school and was living with an Arakmbut husband in the community of Boca Inambari.

Over and above any possible expectations for particular groups of pupils, was the 1991 Director's desire to ensure that as many students as possible graduated from her primary school and moved on to secondary school. Since 1988, all students completing Grade 6 in the San José school have continued to secondary school. In a Department where, for both rural and urban students, only 27 per cent of all pupils go on to secondary school (CAAAP 1992), San José has a very high success rate. Moreover, these indigenous students can only continue to secondary if they have 11 or over in each subject for Grade 6 because of restrictions on the number of grants FENAMAD can offer and places at Dominican boarding school. Parents are very keen that their children should be given a grant and place at secondary school, despite their absence of expectations or clear notions of what academic success at the secondary level might bring. This demand for secondary education therefore does not reflect a demand for more schooling because of the access which formal education brings and promotion up the hierarchical structure of the national society and/or the labour market. It reflects a more negative situation: students terminating primary school do not leave with knowledge and abilities which are immediately of use to them in

their lives in San José but, on the contrary, primary schooling equips them only for more schooling.

Changing Domains and Challenging Abilities

The move from community primary school to boarding and attending secondary school far from home presents Arakmbut students with a whole range of new challenges. The new academic institution challenges the academic abilities of San José children and measures their worth against children from other academic backgrounds. It also challenges their academic motivation and the extent of their desire to do well and pass grades. First and foremost, however, it throws them into a new cultural and linguistic environment, cut off from their families and the 'community domain' in which they have grown up and hitherto been secure.

Dominican Boarding School

Elias was aged 10 when he went to the mission at El Pilar to complete his primary schooling. Far from being able to enjoy the pleasures of Puerto Maldonado he found he only went there very occasionally in the company of the missionaries and with no money to spend. He felt very lonely and far from home. His life was now governed by rigid rules and new practices. He rose early to work in the mission gardens, feed the pigs and take part in seasonal agricultural work such as harvesting coffee. The work was hard and demanding as well as humiliating. He was once made to plant manioc and, ignorant of the procedure, unwittingly planted the twig upside down. To teach him a lesson one of the missionaries held him up by his feet.

There were other humiliations too. The Arakmbut boys had a poorer grasp of Spanish than the Ese'eja students who lived with their families in El Pilar and also attended school. Elias and the other Arakmbut boys were made to feel inferior and 'primitive' in comparison.

In 1978 Elias successfully graduated from primary school and returned to his community for the holiday period. He expected to continue on to secondary school after the break but his parents did not agree to this. With the Dominican boarding facilities Puerto Maldonado closed down, the mission boarding school at Sepahua in the Upper Urubamba was the only alternative. But Sepahua was very far away and his parents objected because they would have no contact with him and they worried that some disaster might befall him. So Elias stayed in his community together with the other boys

> who had completed primary school. In 1978 his father died and he, as eldest son, began to work gold with the men in his clan group, to hunt and fish and help support his mother and brothers and sisters. He became accustomed to the idea that he would remain in his community.

Elias' move from community to boarding school is a move which today most students make between primary school and secondary school. There are no secondary schools in indigenous communities in Madre de Dios and therefore all students have to move away from their community to study. The move away from home for Elias was a watershed in his life. For the first time he was in the minority as an Arakmbut. He experienced prejudice and was made to feel at the bottom of the indigenous pecking order by his classmates who were Ese'eja, Piro, Matsigenka and some Mestizos. His identification as Arakmbut, as distinct from for example Piro, developed through different encounters with missionaries and other indigenous students. One example, of this was when he and the other San José students had to compete against students from other ethnic groups to build a hut as part of a school exam. He was well satisfied with the hut they had made but the missionaries gave it a low mark. Hurt and angry at the rejection of their hut, built in the way their fathers built huts, they burned it to the ground at night.

In 1992 there were four boys from San José studying at secondary school in Sepahua. To get there their families took them the two-day canoe trip (with outboard engine) to the mouth of the Manu river from where the Dominicans flew them in a light plane to Sepahua mission. Because of the distance involved, the boys' only contact with their families throughout the nine month school year was an occasional radio message asking for money from home.

The Dominicans offer a technical education at Sepahua and consider that schooling should be geared to producing good Christian husbands and fathers who can competently tend gardens, herd cattle and repair canoes.

Moreover, until very recently, the Dominicans have been dismissive of indigenous students going into higher education. They scoffed at the idea of an indigenous doctor, economist, accountant or lawyer, and asked what use, for example, a lawyer could be in his community where he could only intervene in cases of lost machetes. They also considered that higher or further education would lead to problems between students who would be more educated than the community leaders (R. Alvarez, pers. comm. 14.5.92)[6].

However, in contrast to Sepahua school, when Elias transferred to Puerto Maldonado to study independently of the missionaries, he chose to attend the secondary school which offered an 'academic' course of study. Today, indigenous students in Puerto Maldonado attend one of three secondary schools and often their matriculation in an 'academic' school as opposed to a 'technical' or 'agrarian' school is based on a first-come-first-served basis of entrance.

Secondary Schooling: an Educational, Social and Psychological Watershed

In the Mainstream State School System

In 1981, the lay-missionary teacher from the neighbouring community of Puerto Luz persuaded the parents of five boys to let them go to Sepahua to study. By this time Elias' mother had married again and he could be spared to continue his education.

In Sepahua Elias studied alongside boys from several other indigenous groups including Matsigenka, Piro and Ashaninka. Here, as with El Pilar, there was a strict routine to follow each day: working in the gardens in the morning followed by school in the afternoon and a study period in the evening. The schooling there primarily involved memorisation and rote learning under the strict supervision of the teachers and Padres. Punishments were meted out for missing daily mass or not carrying out other duties satisfactorily. Elias found that there was a greater emphasis on studying than there had been at primary school in El Pilar and the subjects prescribed by the national curriculum included history of the world, geography and religion.

In 1984 Elias and the other Arakmbut students were surprised to hear that the Eori Centre had solved the problem of their

> great distance from home by securing grants from Oxfam (America) through AIDESEP to enable them to study in Puerto Maldonado. In Puerto Maldonado, Elias was joined by four other boys who had subsequently completed their primary schooling in San José under the instruction of the lay-missionary teacher sent by RESSOP. Elias remembers the freedom of not having to work in the fields and of the occasional visits from family or friends to Puerto Maldonado.

From being in the minority as Arakmbut in the mission schools, Elias and his companions now found themselves in the minority as indigenous ('nativos') in mainstream schooling. In contrast to Sepahua, their fellow students and teachers had never visited an indigenous community and did not know the difference between one ethnic group and another. From the small hamlet of Sepahua, dominated by the mission and the boarding school, they found themselves in Puerto Maldonado, the (albeit small) Department capital. Attending state schooling signified a release from the authoritative missionary control which had given them little decision-making power over their own lives and now they had to cope with new freedoms and temptations.

Today secondary students from San José, as well as the other Harakmbut communities with RESSOP schools, attend either the mission boarding school in Sepahua or board with FENAMAD in Puerto Maldonado. In 1991 and 1992 FENAMAD had approximately 50 grants to offer indigenous students for secondary schooling which included their board and lodging at the FENAMAD house and office[7]. The grants are awarded by the Regional government as a continuation of a scheme set up by CORDEMAD (Department of Madre de Dios Development Corporation) in 1985. Until 1992 FENAMAD administered the grants for female students but did not have the facilities for them in the FENAMAD house and so they had to board with the Dominican nuns in the Convent of Santa Cruz. In 1992 the first female students began to lodge with FENAMAD.

Nevertheless, though the number of grants available has increased

since 1985, the demand for these grants has increased too reflecting the increase in the number of indigenous community primary schools established through Madre de Dios in the 1980s. Today demand exceeds supply. For students from RESSOP controlled primary schools without a grant, the Diocese provides places at its boarding school in Sepahua. This happened in the case of student 'H' in Table 6. From 1994 Sepahua is offering places for girls as well as boys.

- 'Culture Shock'

The majority of Arakmbut students at secondary school say that they find life hard. They refer to poor conditions in Puerto Maldonado in terms of bad food, cramped quarters and no money for even basic items such as toothpaste and soap. Their complaints are couched in material terms and for the students boarding with FENAMAD the late arrival of their Regional government grants on several occasions has meant considerable hardship. Four Harakmbut students at present studying at universities in Lima provide a deeper insight into the problems which indigenous students face on moving away from their familiar community environment to secondary school. With secondary school some five years behind them, these students were able to discuss some of the problems they faced in adapting to new attitudes, behaviours and expectations through the exclusive medium of Spanish. The students themselves describe the move from home to Puerto Maldonado as a profound culture shock (Sueyo 1993).

One Arakmbut student remembers the insults to which he was subject by "those people who believed they were civilised" (ibid:2), that is, by members of the Mestizo population of Puerto Maldonado. The racism and the ethnocentrism of the urban population presents a dilemma for indigenous students. They have no family and community backup and can

feel extremely vulnerable. On the one hand, they have to make a great effort to adapt themselves to the environment of the school and the town but find it hard because "our culture and our customs are difficult to forget" (op. cit.:2). Yet, the students learn that their culture and customs are fundamental to them and are their cornerstone: "We are overcoming little by little all the obstacles in our way and always maintain our culture as a shield out in front of us, because it is our indigenous identity which gives us the strength to keep resisting the abuses" (ibid).

During Elias' time at secondary school, he and his fellow students were part of an integrated education project which provided not only grants for their food, accommodation and school books but also private tutors who helped them to overcome academic problems, particularly with their expression and comprehension in Spanish. They also had a supervisor to whom they could turn for advice about how to "reconcile two different cultures and realities" (Sueyo ibid:2). The students consider that the tutors were important in helping them overcome their 'culture shock' and ought to be part of the current grant system for all secondary students. They also emphasise the importance of adequate material conditions and an atmosphere conducive for home study. One student suggested that classes in personal presentation and communication would be important to aid a student's functioning in mainstream schooling and Mestizo society (Arique 1993).

The indigenous students find they lack confidence in the new urban environment as a consequence of the racial discrimination and the dislocation from their home and culture. When they are too insecure to make friends and talk, this is often interpreted by other students and teachers as deliberate anti-social behaviour (Sueyo op.cit.:3). This has serious consequences for their school performance. One student describes

the torments which the school and the classroom held for him:

> When the time comes to make a presentation in front of my companions I cannot overcome the nervousness that attacks me at the thought that I am going to make a mistake..... In spite of the fact that my Spanish is getting better I do not catch the gist of the subjects well enough to answer questions in the exams with my own words or my own syntheses (Arique op. cit.:1).

Both the lay-missionaries at the Dominican boarding schools and members of FENAMAD report that Arakmbut students have very poor competency in Spanish when they reach secondary school which puts them at a considerable disadvantage in the Mestizo classroom and vis-à-vis the other indigenous students in the FENAMAD house, some of whom have Spanish as their mother tongue. The Secretary for Education for FENAMAD also noted that Arakmbut students in general have a low level of ability in maths (pers. comm. E. Tijé 26.7.93). Consequently, students who were labelled good or high achievers in San José primary school find themselves performing badly and academically ill-equipped. Many have also expressed feelings of isolation in the large anonymous secondary schools where the teacher does not know each child, and may hold prejudices about their intellectual capacity based on folk theories of cultural deficiency. In their primary schools they were secure in their identity and culture and took it for granted. In Puerto Maldonado it is ridiculed, repudiated and thrust upon them. Their identity as individuals is subjugated to their identity as indigenous peoples which becomes their foremost identifying characteristic.

The phenomenon of indigenous students performing well in their home based primary schools but performing very poorly when they transfer to mainstream secondary school away from home is common, though it is not a main focus of study in Peru given that the numbers of indigenous children in this situation are relatively low and restricted to regions with a small and scattered indigenous population such as Madre de Dios

and the Upper Urubamba area. In other parts of the Amazon, where indigenous communities are larger or less distant from each other, secondary schools are located within the communities themselves. For example the Ashaninka community of Marankiari Bajo in the Lower Perene, in the Central Rainforest, with a population of 1,500 people, has two primary and two secondary schools.

For the San José students, their primary schooling does not prepare them academically, socially or emotionally for the change ahead. Parents have ill-defined conceptions of what urban Mestizo is like for their children having little or no experience of it themselves[8].

- Dropping out

The rates of dropout and return to the communities bear witness to the serious difficulties that indigenous students encounter in adapting to secondary school and life away from the community. A socio-economic study carried out among all students from FENAMAD member communities illustrates that, between 1985 and 1989, the greatest number of repetitions and dropouts in secondary school took place in the early grades when students had only recently left their communities for the first time and come to live in the town (Rummenhöller et al. 1991) (see Table 13).

Table 13: Percentage of Dropouts by Grade for FENAMAD Secondary School Students 1985-1989

Grade	1	2	3	4	5	
Percentage	64.2	21.5	14.3	0	0	100
No. of pupils	9	3	2	0	0	14

Table 14 illustrates the numbers of students who registered for secondary school, actually turned up and began school, and dropped out, either during or at the end of the year.

Table 14: FENAMAD Secondary Students' Attendance, and Dropout. * 1992 figures unavailable.

Academic year	Number of Students Registered	Attended	Dropouts
1991	33	24	14
1992	50	40	- *

The numbers of female students has increased since 1984 and by the 1990s there was parity. The percentage of female dropouts is, however, similar to that of males for 1991 (see Table 15).

Table 15: Dropout of Female FENAMAD Students from Secondary School

Academic year	% of female students	% of all dropouts
1991	40.6	42.0
1992	65.0	-

After completing their first year of secondary in 1991, two out of three female San José students ('L' and 'M') dropped out (see Table 6). 'K' also dropped out in her third year after moving from boarding with the Dominican nuns at Santa Cruz to FENAMAD. These students, all young women (muneyo), returned to their families and their activities within the traditional Arakmbut domain.

The dropout rate at secondary school for San José students is relatively high, compared with students from other FENAMAD communities. Of 14 children who began primary school in 1983, 9 went on to secondary school, either boarding with the Dominicans or FENAMAD. By the end of the 1992 academic year 6 had dropped out (see Table 6).

Research into dropout among FENAMAD students for the years 1985 to 1989 (Rummenhöller et al. op. cit:460) indicates that indigenous students dropped out and returned to their communities for one or more of the following reasons: poor academic results, poor level of Spanish, problems with students of other ethnic groups, dissatisfaction with

their accommodation and food, wanted to earn money and were pregnant or had made a local girl pregnant and had to 'escape'. The San José 1983 year cohort (see Table 6) includes examples of all these reasons. As Trueba and Spindler (1989) suggest, dropping out is also a pragmatic, sensible solution under conditions of stress, confrontation and conflict. If we look at the dropouts from secondary school in the 1983 San José cohort we can see that A, C, D and F were considerably older than their non-indigenous counterparts. In their own society they were considered young men, wambo (cf. Chapter 6), while the school system continued to treat them as minors. In fact, the university students (cf. p.212), who are in their mid-20s and in Arakmbut society are men (wambokerek), continue to be referred to as 'chicos' (boys) by their advisers.

The Arakmbut students from Puerto Luz, San José, Shintuya and Barranco Chico have the worst rate of dropout from secondary school. Compared to students from other ethnic groups, the Arakmbut students come from the most distant communities with no opportunities to visit home during the academic year and with few visits from family and kin between April and December. Their prior experience of an urban environment is considerably less than that of students from communities situated only a few hours from Puerto Maldonado and who may have relatives living in town. Thus the least experienced students find themselves the most isolated from their family and community environment. The Arakmbut not only have poorer abilities in Spanish but have relatively less contact with Spanish speakers and come from communities with a higher percentage of mother-tongue speakers than many of the other indigenous groups in Madre de Dios.

From the perspective of the formal education system, the high rate of dropouts among the Arakmbut is considered a problem in terms of

wastage. It is a source of frustration to FENAMAD personnel and a disappointment to the RESSOP teachers. However, in terms of parents in San José, dropping out is not perceived as failure. The Arakmbut do not have the same expectations of schooling, nor does it have the same importance for their lives as it does for non-indigenous people (cf. p.124). In the Arakmbut system of learning and acquiring knowledge there are no failures and no labelling of individuals by such exclusive terms. Consequently, when Arakmbut students drop out of school and return to their communities, there is no sense of shame or failure, no sense of having let down family or community and the student will often blame his/her return on the poor quality of food, a reason with which everyone in the community can sympathise, given the importance of particular kinds of food for physical and mental strength and growth (see Chapter 6).

One way to approach Arakmbut school performance and dropping out is to ask why students stay on at school. For the Arakmbut of San José the objective of schooling is not a job in the nearest town or an escape from rural poverty. School is not a means of social mobility or avoiding ethnic affiliation. An Arakmbut from San José sees his/her life as based in the community. Whatever level in the formal system they reach they will return to the community and carry out the same activities and types of work which they would have done with little or no schooling. Schooling is not the difference between a high income job and a low income job. Schooling does not replace the need to be able to make a garden, hunt, fish and build a house, abilities which enable a man to find a wife. Ten years of schooling do not replace or compensate for a woman's ability to cultivate and manage the huge biodiversity of an Arakmbut garden and the knowledge necessary to collect the forest resources without which she will not find a partner. The extent to which

students are prepared to persevere in difficult circumstances at school are related to their prospects and opportunities within San José society at a particular point in time. Factors which can contribute to keep a student at school may include, the absence of a marriageable partner in the community (according to strict rules of clan exogamy); low profitability of the extended family gold panning enterprise, which offers little monetary gain for a lot of hard physical labour; and peer or sibling friction and conflict (which in the past might have prompted a move to another Arakmbut community).

However, Group 1 parents' expectations for their children mark a break with other members of the community and imply the beginnings of new internalisation of the individualistic aims of formal education. These parents are hoping that their children, who are only just or have not yet reached an age to begin secondary school, will in some way be able to use their education to improve their family's economy. Parental expectations are unclear and vague but there is no suggestion at all that these children should use their education to look for work outside of San José.

All the students in the 1983 cohort who are no longer in education are living and working in San José (see Figure 6), the women working with their mothers and the men working with their fathers or in-laws. 'D' runs the village shop together with his wife who serves behind the counter. While it may be argued that their schooling has facilitated this occupation, it is important to note that the wife has one of the lowest levels of education for her generation in the community (she dropped out of primary school in 1985 after Grade 3). Of the 36 members of San José who have had two or three years of primary schooling or more, 34 are still living in San José, 1 has moved to Puerto Luz (to marry) and 1 has moved to Boca Inambari (to marry).

The Importance of Higher Education for Students and Community

University Life in Lima

In 1987, at the age of 21, Elias went to Lima to matriculate in an 'Academy'. There he met other older and more experienced students from the Central and Northern Rainforest. Lima came as quite a shock for Elias after the confines of Puerto Maldonado and it took him some time to feel at ease there. At first, he walked the long distances between his lodgings and college until he had enough confidence to board the crowded buses that ply the streets.

Compared to some of his fellow non-indigenous students he had little money and sometimes did not understand what was going on in class which, together with bad food, combined to make him feel he was disadvantaged in his studies. However, his grant provided for a private tutor to help him with the subjects in which he was weak. Good spoken Spanish was especially important for his confidence and his ability to make friends among other non-indigenous students.

In Lima, Elias lived first in the 'Native House' belonging to AIDESEP together with indigenous students and leaders from other parts of the Amazon. However, conditions there were cramped and not conducive to studying. He soon moved, together with four other Harakmbut students, to a family house. Nevertheless, he kept contact with the AIDESEP students some of whom were already matriculated at university and were quite advanced in their studies. These students provided a lot of moral support to Elias, but also support in terms of their similar situations not only as Amazonian students in Lima, but as representatives of their Rainforest peoples and communities in the city.

On his third attempt, and despite fierce competition, Elias entered the private university of Garcilaso de la Vega in 1988 to study economics. He has returned to his community each year during the vacations and in 1992 travelled to Europe to take part in the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations in Geneva as President of the Association of Indigenous Students of Madre de Dios (ADEIMAD). There he participated in the formulation of the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. During this trip he was accompanied by one of the leaders of FENAMAD and together they visited indigenous support organisations and development agencies in Britain, Denmark and Norway. Elias is now coming towards the end of his degree and looking forward to returning to his community to put his learning at its disposal.

In 1988 five Harakmbut students (three Arakmbut and two Arasaeri), some of whom had formerly been part of the secondary student grant project financed by Oxfam (America), received funding for a university student grant project from NORAD (Royal Norwegian Department of

Development) and went to Lima to study at academies and prepare themselves for university entrance exams. The move from the provincial town of Puerto Maldonado to the huge metropolis of Lima brings major changes to even those students most adjusted and accommodated to secondary school and urban life. There students come face to face with different social strata, especially in the private fee paying universities. One of the students describes the problems in university classes:

> The indigenous student...believes that the city students know more than him and consequently does not want to disagree with them or discuss the subjects they are studying. The indigenous student is humble because he feels inferior to them - which is not true - and believes that they alone have access to the truth. He feels humiliated and is ashamed of being indigenous, thinking that he will never be able to be equal to them in any way (Sueyo op cit:3).

In Lima the students found that they risked being laughed at when they said where they came from and they watched as other indigenous students responded to this racism by refusing to speak their own language and trying to pass themselves off as Mestizos (ibid). In order to overcome these feelings of inferiority and reassert their beliefs in their own indigenous identity, the students formed the Association of Students of the Madre de Dios (ADEIMAD). The students used ADEIMAD as a focus for strengthening their sense of Harakmbut identity and combatting the forces they encountered daily to abandon their language, culture and beliefs. The difficulties they met at university were compounded by the poor quality of teaching, the extremely authoritarian methods and the highly irrelevant curriculum of their secondary education in Madre de Dios (CAAAP 1992). (Mestizo families in Puerto Maldonado with the means to do so send their children to Lima for secondary education.)

Shortly after their arrival in Lima, Elias and the students made contact with AIDESEP and other indigenous Amazonian students, many of

whom were near to completing their studies and had spent several years in Lima. They became members of ADEISP (Association of Indigenous Students of the Peruvian Rainforest), which comprises indigenous students committed to the indigenous movement and their ethnic groups. The ADEIMAD students became aware of the network of indigenous peoples' organisations working not only at the national level but also internationally through COICA (Coordinadora of Indigenous Organisations of the Amazon Basin). Rather than seeing themselves as isolated individuals in Lima "being asked to make a quantum leap from one culture to the next without any transitional or translational experiences to assist them" (Deloria 1981), they began to reasses themselves and their position as Harakmbut within a network of indigenous organisations. These organisations are united in the aims and objectives of the indigenous movement, which gave a much wider meaning to the students' studies and their long years away from their communities.

The students were gaining invaluable experience and understanding about the country they lived in and the kind of society it fostered. In the face of insults about his race and identity in Lima, Sueyo began to ask: "because we are from a different culture does that mean that we are not people with rights? Certainly there is not a people in the world which is not ethnocentric, because every culture has its way of life, but no one is more civilised or less civilised; each people merits the same rights and the same respect" (Sueyo op. cit:2). Free from the tutelage of the Dominican 'civilising' scheme, this generation of Arakmbut and Arasaeri was developing a new awareness of what it meant to be indigenous. Parallel to gaining nationally recognised academic and professional qualifications at university, the students were learning how they might use this education for the benefit of their indigenous societies. Furthermore, the 'informal education' and experience acquired

in the course of the 'formal' education was a valuable training for indigenous leadership.

At the end of 1992, FENAMAD received a letter from FAFO International (a Norwegian union organisation), which had taken over the university student grant project from NORAD, announcing it would cut its funding to one student (a medical student) who had left Lima and returned temporarily to San José. Finding the continual pressures of his course and life in the city extremely hard, and compounded by news of his mother's advanced stage of tuberculosis, this student had taken a short break from the academic, social and emotional pressures[9]. After 20 years of formal education the medical student had no option but to remain in his community and began to work gold with his father. Using his education to help him seek employment outside of his community was not just a distasteful proposition, it was not even a consideration.

However, unlike the secondary school students who drop out, this student felt he was a disappointment to both his family and his community. The weight of failure hung heavily on his shoulders. As part of the same integrated grant project as Elias, funded first Oxfam-America then NORAD and FAFO International, a wide range of people and organisations had been charting his progress as one of the first Harakmbut students in mainstream secondary and tertiary education. These included the grant awarding organisations; FENAMAD which in 1984 had only just been established; the Eori Centre responsible for the running of the project; the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) in Copenhagen which solidly supported the project; and not least the students' families and communities which complied with the long term absence of one of their members because of the advantages they were led to believe they might bring for the community in the future.

For the three remaining students in Lima today, their parents and

siblings pan gold day after day and send what little extra they can spare to supplement the students' miserable living allowance. One elderly widower no longer able to work gold considers the continued absence of his only son a huge and inexplicable sacrifice but trusts in his son that his sacrifice will bring long term benefits for his community. FENAMAD is waiting for the students to qualify and fulfil positions hitherto carried out by non-indigenous experts; it wants an indigenous lawyer to secure Harakmbut traditional territory from invasions, indigenous mayors to ensure justice and equity for the indigenous communities in the local government, economists and social scientists to advise on development projects, a doctor who can approach the communities' health problems from both scientific and indigenous perspectives and educators who can develop an appropriate intercultural education. The communities are waiting for them and hoping they will find ways of overcoming problems of land and resources and abuses of human rights. On graduation, the indigenous students will not be free agents to take the most attractive employment and salaries; they are committed and eager to return to work for their people, a task which may bring no financial remuneration at all[10]. As ADEISP states clearly, indigenous students:

> have a commitment to their peoples which is above all 'moral and political', and through this we focus all our efforts into completing our studies, whether they be in secondary schools, colleges of further education or universities far from our own world. Our motto is to finish our studies and return to work together with our community members and leaders. For this reason we are different from all the white students who seek financially profitable professions in order to recompense them for the efforts and the economic expenditure they have made in order to complete their studies (ADEISP n.d.).

The Dominicans have denied the Harakmbut access to higher education by channelling indigenous students through low-level vocational courses and maintaining them in a situation of dependency.

The small cadre of university educated Harakmbut have the potential to provide the indigenous peoples of Madre de Dios with the expertise and confidence they need to gain control over their own lives.

School Learning as a Collective Resource

Elias' family has been his strongest support over his years at schools and university, encouraging him to complete his studies so that he can return to the community and help to tackle the particular problems it faces in terms of providing a viable future for new generations. Nevertheless, Elias cannot return to San José and rest on his academic laurels. After his long sojourn away from the community he has to reassure his family and community that he is still first and foremost an Arakmbut. The vacation trips to San José have been times for reinforcing his indigenous identity, trying ensure that his education and learning in the Arakmbut domain do not stand still but keep pace with his years and physical maturity. Elias, still continuing in Lima, knows that however many exams he passes or academic accolades he receives, his prestige within his community comes ultimately from being Arakmbut and the knowledge and understanding which he needs for this are achieved through Arakmbut learning processes.

To be a wamandoyeri (someone who studies/goes to school, cf.p.114) is not enough to be a respected Arakmbut. Someone who lives through the skills of a wamandoyeri alone is a wanamba, a weak person. A respected Arakmbut is someone who is strong and not loathe to do hard physical work (e'mba'a) such as clearing forest or panning gold; someone who is competent at skilled physical work (e'ka'a) such as hunting, fishing or producing children; someone who knows about and understands (e'nopwe), for example, the spirit world such as a wamanoka'eri; and above all someone who can use all this knowledge and skill for the benefit of the

community. The move by FAFO International to cut the medical student's grant demonstrated the individualistic perspective which this organisation has on education for indigenous peoples. Not only is FAFO International insensitive to the huge weight of expectations upon the university students but its consultants do not understand that one student's education is a resource for his/her entire community and people. In this respect there is a huge difference between those dropping out in the early years of secondary school and the NORAD/FAFO students in Lima who have been groomed for the long term benefit of their people. The sense of failure experienced by the medical student is a bitter personal failure; he feels he has returned with nothing to offer.

This chapter has documented the different pressures and expectations upon students as they move through the formal education system. It has also looked at the implications which the moves from one level of the education system to the next have in terms of a person's awareness and definition of their indigenous Arakmbut identity. This process begins when a student first enters the cultural domain of the school and becomes more sharply defined when he/she has to leave the community to attend secondary and further education.

In the case of Elias, the solidity of his cultural roots in the community of San José has been developed into a strong and positive awareness of his indigenous identity through his informal learning and participation in the indigenous movement. This has taken place at the regional level (through FENAMAD), the national level (through AIDESEP) and the international level (through COICA and the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Peoples) in ways which have enabled him to overcome the ethnocidal and individualistic pressures of formal education and turn them into a potentially empowering force for his

community. At the same time, Arakmbut society has woven formal education into its particular cultural epistemology. Chapters 5 and 6 illustrate the manner in which respect can be gained through giving (e'iok), and wisdom is recognised through using knowledge for beneficial ends, such as curing. Learning is demonstrable and knowledge is meant to be used. The learning gained by Arakmbut within the formal education system is also acknowledged through its use and the wamandoyeri (student) receives respect for using this knowledge for the beneficial ends of the whole community. If Elias does not put his learning to practical use for the community then he will have neither recognition for his years of investment and hard work, nor respect for his considerable achievement in the formal education system.

Footnotes

1. This RESSOP approach is similar to the North American compensatory education approach of the 1960s whereby indigenous and minority school 'failure' was interpreted as a form of intellectual retardation due to lack of early environmental stimulation (cf. Teasdale and Whitelaw 1981).

2. There has been considerable research into classroom learning and teaching styles with indigenous North American children which focus on the widespread phenomena of 'the silent Indian'. In the Warm Springs Indian Reservation Philips produced evidence for culturally determined rules of verbal participation which were in conflict with the classroom arrangement and teacher control of all forms of interaction (1972). The silence with which teachers were faced in school, she suggests, were the result of inappropriate social conditions for speech in the classroom.

Recent studies suggest that the learning style which can be perceived as a performance within the classroom is the outward manifestation of a "complex set of integrated out-of-school learning experiences that are rationalised and guided by a Navajo theory of cognitive and personal development" (McCarty et al. 1991:44). For a discussion of indigenous teaching and learning styles see Chapter 9.

3. In a psychometric study, McInerney elicits information about school motivation in Navajo and Australian Aboriginal students and asks why, amid reports of Navajo and Aboriginal lack of school motivation, achievement and high dropout rates, there is nevertheless a substantial group of successful students (1993:16). McInerney states: "If children receive messages from their cultural community that it is good to do well at school, and that one's life chances are enhanced by successful schooling they will succeed. Conversely, if the community indicates that

success at schooling is at best irrelevant, and at worst inimical to one's cultural identity, children will not look to the school as the arena in which the demonstrate their successes" (ibid:17).

4. The categorisation of ability derives largely from social class judgements about pupils' social, moral and intellectual behaviour (Keddie 1971). Though 'class' is not an applicable criterion in the case of San Jose, social position is.

5. Women's position in society and in particular their role in economic activities in discussed briefly in Chapter 6. A detailed account of women's position in San Jose society and gender relations can be found in Aikman (n.d.).

6. The change of approach towards university education may have come when Padre R. Alvarez, lecturer in philosophy at the University of San Martin de Porres, had an Arasaeri Harakmbut student in his philosophy class who was every bit the equal of his peers.

7. Students from communities in the Alto Madre de Dios use their grants to study in Pilcopata which is nearer their homes.

8. Some studies in North America have considered the trauma which indigenous students often undergo in the move from on-reservation elementary school to off-reservation high school. Wilson considers Sioux students' experiences in terms of the cultural discontinuity between the two environments and considers the 'unrealistic aspirations within the reserve for secondary students' (Wilson 1991:376).

9. As Wilson notes in the case of the Sioux, students often dropped out when they felt ill-equipped to cope with the current situation but this did not mean they would not return again. They dropped out in order to cope with the trauma of school and the school environment. Many of the elementary students dropped out and then went back again (Wilson 1991).

10. Edith Tijé, who completed her teacher training in 1992, is Secretary for Education for FENAMAD and in charge of overseeing the indigenous secondary students as well as setting up a new indigenous secondary school. Unlike her former college students, who are teaching in schools and earning a salary (albeit small) she has no income.

CHAPTER 8: BILINGUAL EDUCATION FOR LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE: ORAL TRADITIONS AND SCHOOLED LITERACY

The Arakmbut of San José do not live in isolation, and their knowledge and learning is not unaffected by influences from the mainstream society and the large numbers of colonists living on, and in close proximity to, their legally recognised territory. The increasing pressures on San José from the non-indigenous population have resulted in changes which are threatening the long term viability of the Arakmbut way of life through the weakening and destruction of integral components of their world view, such as the ability to hunt and their freedom of cultural expression. Furthermore, as the previous chapter noted, some parents are considering whether completing secondary school might bring economic benefits for the individuals and their immediate families, a trend which could lead to a breakdown in the collective aims of learning and skills which still predominates in San José.

Chapters 8 and 9 are concerned with the changes that the Arakmbut of San José have experienced over the last twenty years, brought about by increasing contact with the colonist population through the gold rush of the 1970s and with the extension of national institutions and bureaucracies throughout the Madre de Dios, such as the formal education system, a western health system and local government. The Harakmbut communities have turned to FENAMAD to help them protect their territory and way of life. FENAMAD has responded in two ways: through working for the legal recognition of indigenous communities and the protection of communal land; and through proposals for the introduction of intercultural bilingual education. Intercultural bilingual education is viewed by FENAMAD as a means of strengthening indigenous language and

culture in the face of challenges and threats to it from outside, and at the same time improving the quality and relevance of the school system.

Chapter 9 focuses on the 'intercultural' dimension of intercultural bilingual education, while this chapter discusses the bilingual dimension as it concerns San José. The first part of this chapter looks at the threats to the Arakmbut of San José and their way of life with particular reference to Arakmbut oral traditions. The second part considers the significance of bilingual education for San José and the implications of such a mode of education, which is both schooled and literate, for Arakmbut culture. It considers the relationship between the two languages as they are used in bilingual education and the relationship between Harakmbut and Spanish as they are used by the community of San José. This leads to an inquiry into the significance of a Harakmbut writing system for the Arakmbut of San José, as well as the complexities of producing a writing system that has a recognisable use for a numerically small people with overwhelmingly oral cultural traditions.

The Proximity of 'Wahaipis'

The growth in the non-indigenous (wahaipi) population in Madre de Dios, and in particular in the region around the Karene river, has had serious consequences for the Arakmbut and their delimited territory which, under Peruvian law, is an area of their traditional lands within which they can establish their settlements and practice their agricultural, fishing, collecting and hunting activities. But there has also been a growth in the demand for fresh meat and vegetables from the colonist population at Boca Colorado. The Arakmbut communities' territory is being illegally cleared for agriculture and areas hitherto untouched because their rivers do not bear gold dust, such as the

Isiriwe, have become centres for hunting by the colonist population and large amounts of tapir, peccary and deer are shot and sold. Birds, such as blue and red macaws, are sought by the colonists for their commercial value and the future of these and other species is being threatened. Gold panning along the river banks has produced large scale destruction of the river ecology and fishing has become more difficult for the Arakmbut. Turtle eggs have been collected in such large quantities in recent years by colonists for the Maldonado market that now they are becoming scarce and the San José women have ceased making the annual trip to gather turtle eggs on the beaches of the Madre de Dios river in the dry season.

The disruption and destruction of the environment has depleted natural stocks of fauna and flora, making hunting harder for the Arakmbut. The hunters have to travel increasing distances from the village yet find less game. As their diet becomes harder to sustain through hunting and fishing, the Arakmbut of San José have turned more to gold panning as a means of generating income for the purchase of foodstuffs at Boca Colorado. As gold work becomes more important for providing food, and more time is spent on it, there is less time for hunting. Hunting and fishing are fundamental activities for the Arakmbut, not simply in terms of the source of food they provide, but in terms of the relations which they establish with the invisible world of the spirits. Threats to the ability of the Arakmbut to hunt and fish have, therefore, very far reaching consequences. Today, with the drop in the price of gold, the Arakmbut, like the colonists, are looking for alternative means of providing an income and feeding their children.

In San José, we can distinguish two broad generations of wambokerek (men). There is the older generation of men born in the 1940s or earlier, before the move to Shintuya mission, who number 13

individuals, among whom some have more aptitude for hunting than others. The men in this generation work gold but also include hunting as an important part of their activities and still try to provide a regular supply of meat for their families. The younger generation of wambokerek comprises some 16 men born in Shintuya in the 1960s (there are no men and only one woman born in the 1950s, possibly due to the very high mortality rate over that decade). Today they comprise the young married men of San José, though a few are still bachelors. These are young men in their thirties whose gold activities allow them much less time for hunting than their fathers would have had at their age. They also have to go much further afield to find game but, because of their comparative inexperience, many of them do not know the forest beyond the community's demarcated territory. To this generation belongs the young man who has neither the knowledge nor the confidence to leave the well marked paths and who opened a shop in San José as a supplementary, but not alternative, means of supporting his growing family.

In the community of Shintuya, where hunting activities have become severely curtailed and meat is no longer distributed through the clan and kin network, the Arakmbut say that this lack of interest in meat and its distribution is not a slight on the hunter and his skills but rather a slight on the animals. Consequently, if a man turns his back on the animals of the forest, for whatever reason, they will turn their backs on him and the hunter's contact with the animal spirits through dreaming will be lost. Thus, we may find that less hunting leads to poorer knowledge of the forest, less contact with the spirits through dreaming and less ability to control the invisible world and protect the community from the sickness and harm the spirits can bring.

The older generation of wambokerek and the watone complain that many of the young men do not want to learn. For their part, the young

wambokerek and wambo complain that their seniors do not want to teach. Nevertheless, it is difficult to ascertain to what extent the differential in hunting skills between generations of wambokerek is due to age and experience and whether it has always been a differential that leads to complaints between father and son, uncle and nephew. Men in the younger generation still do some hunting, treat the forest with immense respect and hold the invisible world in awe and fear. They approach elders in order to learn, though perhaps less securely than in the past. Today they know that there are also other skills which they must also learn which come from outside of the society, such as e'mandoya, as the previous chapter detailed.

While these complaints may be typical of the relations between the younger and older generations down the ages, there are today factors which compound the difficulties in learning and teaching within Arakmbut society. One significant factor is the presence of wahaipi within the community. Some families contract peones to work with them in gold panning and these people often live in the house of their employer, although others live at the gold workings and only come to San José on their day off at the weekend. Today there are two wahaipi women married to young wambokerek who live in the community and whose Mestizo families sometimes visit. The effect of this close proximity of non-indigenous persons on the Arakmbut of San José has been to curtail many outward expressions of Arakmbut culture and oral tradition, in particular communal myth telling outside in the evenings. This has decreased over the last ten years. The watone say they are 'e'mbire', that is embarrassed or too shy to tell myths and sing songs in the presence of wahaipi and non-indigenous people. Consequently, the opportunities for the young to learn from the elders are less frequent. In 1980, at parties in San José, Arakmbut, fortified by alcohol, would sing

improvised songs to each other saying what they dared not say sober. This kind of improvisation is only rarely heard today, and only among the watone.

With money taking on a new importance as the means for acquiring goods which have now come to be basic commodities, such as clothes, cigarettes, rice, pasta, salt and sugar, the watone find themselves extremely impoverished. Their physical ability to pan gold has declined and they are without any means of acquiring goods. However, they still have their knowledge to offer, particularly their knowledge of chindiqn. Sometimes, when they are called upon to cure, especially if the sick person is not from their own clan or family, they may ask for money in return for the chindiqn. The young members of the community, faced with having to pay a fee in return for the elders' knowledge, are indignant and accuse the old people of not wanting to teach them.

In order to improve the situation in which San José and other Arakmbut communities now find themselves, FENAMAD is lobbying in two main areas. One is a proposal for an Amarakaeri Communal Reserve which will encompass the headwaters area, situated between the communities of Shintuya, Puerto Luz, San José, Diamante, Barranco Chico, Samaninonteni and Boca Isiriwe and will permit them the opportunity to hunt, fish and collect in the reserved area (FENAMAD 1992). The communities will also be expected to patrol certain boundary areas and monitor poaching and other incursions into the area by colonists. To this end the prospects for hunting and fishing in the future could improve if the communities can effectively patrol the area. The community of San José is very supportive of this initiative.

The second area is a project for intercultural bilingual education which is still at a preliminary stage. Its fundamental premises are in line with most other intercultural bilingual programmes in Peru in that

a) the bilingual aspect of the education will take the form of mother tongue literacy and b) the education will take place in school. In these respects, the project follows the guidelines laid down by DIGEBIL which states that intercultural bilingual education aims at "producing bilingual students with an optimum communicative competency in their mother tongue and Spanish as a second language. This implies the written and oral use of both languages... throughout the different levels of the education system" (DIGEBIL 1989:11-12). In contrast to the proposal for the Communal Reserve, the community of San José is very uneasy about intercultural bilingual education, unlike many other Amazon peoples who consider intercultural bilingual education as a right. This chapter tries to understand why this should be so.

A Brief Overview of Research Evidence in Favour of Bilingual Education

When the Summer Institute of Linguistics began its bilingual schooling in the Peruvian Amazon it cited UNESCO reports from the 1950s in order to support its advocacy of the mother tongue as the best medium for teaching a child:

> The mother tongue plays an indispensable role in the formation of the child's concepts of the world and of his categories of thought. By the time the young child comes to school he has attained a considerable mastery of a complex instrument of learning, his mother tongue, and this forms a natural and easy means for his further linguistic, intellectual and emotional development (UNESCO 1953 in Larson 1981:15).

The 1953 UNESCO Report, The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education, endorses the intellectual and linguistic importance of mother tongue language development prior to the introduction of a second language:

> ...a child should first learn to read and write in the language spoken in his home and in which his first verbal communication with parents and siblings takes place. When this foundation has been laid he can acquire a full command

> of his own, and if necessary, of other languages; without it there is danger that he will never achieve a thorough command of any language (cited in Larson op. cit.:15).

SIL's advocacy of teaching Amazon children initially in their mother tongue before introducing Spanish was until recently framed in a transitional policy aimed at language shift, that is with the long term aim of the children's exclusive use of Spanish. Furthermore, as its bilingual schools are firmly entrenched in a literate tradition: "A significant reason for using the vernacular centers around the very nature of the educational process, i.e., the nature of learning to read..[and]..the carrying out of a reading program could only be done in a language well known by the student" (Larson op. cit.:18). This advocacy of bilingual teaching stands in direct opposition to early RESSOP and Dominican monolingual policy[1].

Research into bilingual education and the benefits for the student has provided considerable evidence for an 'interdependence' of aspects of language learning:

> To the extent that instruction in Lx is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx, transfer of this proficiency to Ly will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly (either in school or environment) and adequate motivation to learn Ly (Cummins and Swain 1986:87).

In the Peruvian Amazon, SIL emphasised that the proficiency gained in the mother tongue would be transferred to Spanish given adequate exposure and motivation (see Gudschinsky 1977). This argument is also considered to support the teaching of literacy skills in the mother tongue: where reading skills are taught initially in the mother tongue there are certain language-general skills that can be transferred to the second language (Snow 1990:68). In the early SIL schools reading and writing in Spanish were only introduced in the third year after a certain proficiency in the mother tongue was acquired[2].

The success of the transfer of proficiency, however, depends on

the motivation of the learner to learn. Motivation for learning a second language depends on a wide variety of factors including the status and relationship between the languages concerned. Here we are concerned with motivation for indigenous peoples as distinct from ethnic minorities (see Footnote 2, Chapter 1 and the discussion in Aikman 1990, Chapter 1) or national minorities such as the Quebecois in Canada[3]. While indigenous peoples may be motivated to learn the national prestige language for reasons of empowerment, equity and access to the democratic institutions of the national society, they are not concerned with assimilation or integration within the national society and/or economy. As we saw in the previous chapter, the Arakmbut do not see the Spanish language as providing them with direct benefits in terms of furthering their career prospects or integrating them into the national economy. It is important, therefore, not to anticipate acceptance of bilingual education on the strength of research among non-indigenous peoples in similar or other parts of the world[4] The Arakmbut derive benefits from both languages but within the different domains in which they are used. Spanish provides them with access to resources in the national society which they value, such as limited participation in the regional gold economy, and sporadic health care, while Harakmbut provides them with resources which can only be accessed through the Arakmbut spirit world (see Chapter 6).

Many bilingual education programmes today, however, are concerned not exclusively with proficiency in a second prestige language but also with maintaining and enriching the student's first language. In the US many current bilingual education programmes grew out of the civil rights movement of the 1960s when bilingual education was seen as a means of providing not only equal access to education but a means through which a students' mother tongue would be valued and a positive self-image

developed (Lindholm 1990:93; see also Delgado-Gaitan and Trueba 1991). The indigenous movement has formulated its demands for a maintenance-oriented bilingual education in terms of the right of indigenous peoples to their own knowledge, language and culturally appropriate education (cf Earth Charter 1992, Chapter 2). A crucial distinction to be made, however, is that while most ethnic and national minorities have long literate (and oral) traditions (for example among Mexicans or Chicanos in the US or Finns in Sweden), many indigenous mother tongues have a long exclusively oral tradition[5].

The success and acceptance of a maintenance-oriented bilingual education among indigenous peoples, for example the Lil'wat of Canada (Williams and Wyatt 1987), Maori (Spolsky 1989) and the indigenous Yanesha (Francis 1984) or the Aguaruna (Wipio 1981) in the Peruvian Amazon does not imply a similar result or response from the Arakmbut of San José. The social, cultural, political and economic context of each specific indigenous people (or in the case of the Arakmbut each community) can influence their response. In the Peruvian Amazon many indigenous peoples are motivated towards bilingual education as a means of empowering themselves through Spanish. Many are also highly motivated towards education in their indigenous languages as not only a means for individual empowerment within the traditional cultural context (or domain) but also by using mother tongue literacy as a means of empowering the indigenous language within the national context. It is the empowering of the indigenous language through literacy and the formal school which the Arakmbut of San José reject as inappropriate.

Thus, for the Shipibo, Aguaruna and Yanesha of the Peruvian Amazon, among others, bilingual education and mother tongue literacy is an important weapon for them in their struggle for the recognition of their indigenous rights and strengthening their indigenous identity,

although today they are seriously questioning the orientation of that literacy (see below). The Arakmbut, though united with the aims and objectives of the indigenous movement, differ in several fundamental ways from these other indigenous Amazonian peoples, for example, culturally, linguistically, demographically and concerning their present and past relations with the broader Peruvian society, including their experience of formal education. Their specific experience and situation moved them to reject mother tongue literacy in the 1970s (cf. Chapter 3), though they are not adverse to the use of Harakmbut as an auxiliary (spoken) language in the classroom. Today, despite the increasing pressures on their cultural heritage and oral tradition, they continue to reject bilingual education. By considering this wide range of contextual differences which distinguish the Arakmbut of San José from other indigenous Amazonian peoples we can form an understanding of the Arakmbut response to bilingual education and mother tongue literacy in terms of their specific social and cultural practices[6].

The Shipibo: Questioning 'Maintenance' Bilingual Education

The Shipibo are a relatively large indigenous group numbering some 20,000 and their traditional territory includes the small town of Yarinacocha where SIL has its headquarters. SIL began its educational and linguistic work with the Shipibo soon after arriving in Peru and by the 1960s had formed a cadre of Shipibo bilingual teachers. However, some of these teachers began to feel that their school was out of touch with the daily lives of the students and the community. They objected to the orientation of the curriculum and language policy towards an ultimate takeover by Spanish.

Today there are some 75 Shipibo primary schools serving a school population of some 6,500 pupils, administered through the Educational

Services Unit (Aikman 1989). Though the Shipibo ideal is to teach in the medium of Shipibo throughout primary and secondary school, this is compromised by the fact that most teaching materials at secondary level are available only in Spanish. In primary school, however, the Shipibo language is used at all levels in both written and oral forms. In this way Shipibo has developed a new written form of expression, writing, and one which is being strengthened and consolidated as more children learn to use it in school and more materials are produced. Nevertheless, there is concern about the loss of the richness and variety of the oral Shipibo language among experienced and now retired bilingual teachers. Their concern is that pressures from the national society and the introduction of new religions and schooling have resulted in the erosion and loss of 'registers'[7] traditional to the Shipibo-Cunibo people (pers. comm. A. Soria, President, Association of Retired Bilingual Education Workers, Department of Ucayali - ACJEBU 24.1.92).

The role of schooling in this process is twofold. On the one hand, SIL introduced the written form of the Shipibo language for educational purposes which has been utilised primarily by the school. The majority of Shipibo language materials used in schools today are produced by SIL, with Ministry of Education approbation, and the content is predominantly concerned with the non-Shipibo world. On the other hand, there are complaints that, despite many years of working with the Shipibo and studying the language, SIL has only produced one slim volume of 10 to 15 Shipibo stories (ibid). The bilingual school has, in fact, promoted only a very limited use of the Shipibo language, and one which is geared primarily to the aims of the school and the national curriculum. Consequently, there are many different aspects of the Shipibo oral tradition which have been undervalued in the struggle for the right to a maintenance-oriented bilingual education.

In the light of this critique of Shipibo bilingual education, we must question the uncritical use of terms such as 'additive bilingual education', 'enrichment bilingual education' and 'maintenance-oriented bilingual education' as well as the conviction that with them "all students are provided the opportunity to acquire a second language at no cost to their home language and culture" (Lindholm op. cit.:99). 'Subtractive bilingual education' is an education where the native language is replaced by a second language. This is the 'transitional' bilingual education which SIL promoted in its bilingual schools as part of an overall integrationist strategy. A 'maintenance' or 'additive' bilingual education is designed to prevent this transition and maintain the first language, which in the Amazon is the indigenous mother tongue. However, as the Shipibo case illustrates, this policy may be heavily weighted in favour of only one oral practice or one language register so that other registers and their associated social practices are ignored. Such a 'maintenance' bilingual education may have considerable 'subtractive' effects in terms of its neglect of other facets of a people's oral tradition.

ACJEBU points a finger at the school, through its exclusive focus on a 'schooled' register of both the written and the oral Shipibo language, as being responsible for the loss of other registers of the oral language and other genres[8]. Ironically, ACJEBU considers that the best way to combat the loss of the oral language, and its associated cultural knowledge and skills, is to use the written word and the school. By working with the school, which is now an established institution in all Shipibo communities, and by using what they term this 'new tool' (writing), ACJEBU intends to gather examples of oral genres, such as myths, legends and songs and make them available to Shipibo teachers in both an audio and written form (Soria op. cit.)

Other indigenous peoples in the Amazon share the view that the curriculum being taught in their bilingual schools neither reflects the reality in which the students live, nor the richness of their culture. Instead they are demanding more decision-making power in order to ensure that bilingual education is not merely a transposition of western content, form and methods to the mother tongue (Pozzi-Escot 1990b). The Aguaruna provide an example of this.

The Aguaruna: Breaking the 'Transitional/Maintenance' Dichotomy

The Aguaruna, like the Shipibo, have a long history of bilingual schooling. The first SIL bilingual school opened in 1953 with an Aguaruna teacher and by the 1960s, SIL was also training Aguaruna inspectors and supervisors for Aguaruna schools. For the Aguaruna, the bilingual schools offered the opportunity to learn Spanish and the ability to be able to defend themselves against exploitation and debt bondage to outside patrones. The Aguaruna schools have always been run on a principle that only Aguaruna teachers can teach Aguaruna children and that Spanish must be taught as a second language (Wipio 1981).

Today the Aguaruna have expanded their control over the school system and hold key positions in the USE and oversee administration and policy making. Nevertheless, they are anxious to make changes in the curriculum and in teacher training so that bilingual education is not simply a choice between maintenance or transitional models, but that the maintenance of their mother tongue is their 'bottom line' and how to effectively ensure this maintenance is the issue. The issue in Aguaruna education today is how to ensure their control over decision-making in the curriculum development process (of which language policy is a part) to ensure that it reflects Aguaruna values and priorities throughout. With Aguaruna determining the conceptions of 'culture' and the nature of

their intercultural relations with the wider society, they can ensure that the Aguaruna language is strengthened as part of a thriving cultural tradition from which it derives its meanings.

While the relatively larger indigenous groups of the Peruvian Amazon, such as the Aguaruna, Shipibo and the Yanesha, have embraced bilingual education and found it a potential or useful ally in the defence of their language and culture, there are many examples of indigenous peoples with less positive experiences of SIL bilingual schools. SIL linguists themselves admit to having had only limited success in their programmes with the Yagua, the Dakente/Nomatsigenka, Cacataibo and Capanahua (Arique, 1992).

CAAAP has been collaborating with the Chayahuita people who have insisted that their school literacy programme should not be confined to the mother tongue but introduce Spanish and Chayahuita simultaneously. The linguistic and pedagogical arguments for mother tongue literacy followed by the later introduction of Spanish as a second language are not primary considerations for the Chayahuita. For them, language is a means of communication and they have a pressing need to be able to communicate in Spanish. Mother-tongue teaching might provide rewards in terms of greater Spanish proficiency at a later stage, but many indigenous peoples' needs are immediate. Like the Arakmbut of San José, the Chayahuita want their children to learn Spanish in order to try to protect their territory and their way of life from imminent destruction.

Bilingual education projects in Quechua and Aymara-speaking regions of the Peruvian Andes have faced serious opposition from parents who considered bilingual education to be unrelated to their immediate needs (see Appendix A). In Ansión, in the Puno region, a study was carried out which showed that parents did not want bilingual schooling for their children because it was seen as a second class education

(Degregori 1991). As Enrique Lopez and Ruth Moya emphasise from their positions at the forefront of developments in intercultural bilingual education in the highlands of Peru and Ecuador respectively, many different studies attest to the doubts which still exist among indigenous peoples concerning bilingual education and intercultural education (Lopez and Moya 1989:15). One such doubt was expressed by a land titling project worker in the Purus region of Peru, who said he did not feel particularly lucky to have bilingual education because, while the children learned more easily in their mother tongue, they were also more open to the imposition of outside influences. In the case of SIL teachers, he considered that they opened the way to a foreign morality and religious indoctrination.

The Communicative Practices of the Arakmbut of San José

In order to form an understanding of the opposition to bilingual education in San José we will look at the different social practices for which the Arakmbut use the Harakmbut and Spanish languages.

Grillo construes the concept of 'communicative practices' as including "the social activities through which language or communication is produced", "the way in which these activities are embedded in institutions, settings or domains which in turn are implicated in other, wider, social, economic, political and cultural processes" and "the ideologies which may be linguistic or other, which guide processes of communicative production" (Grillo in Street 1993a:13). The discussion with reference to the communicative practices of the Arakmbut of San José will be confined to linguistic communication. However, the focus on communication (rather than literacy or oracy) is a deliberate attempt to move away from any notion of a great divide between peoples with oral traditions and peoples with oral and literate traditions. It is also a

means of deconstructing the term 'oral tradition' and looking at the different genres of Arakmbut oral communication as well as different registers and degrees of 'formality' of the language. This approach avoids any value laden contrast between the oral and the written in terms of cognition or rationality and, following Grillo, considers literacy as one type of communicative practice (Grillo op. cit.). Consequently, this chapter looks at different genres associated with different communicative practices in order to outline the scope and diversity of the Arakmbut oral tradition and contrast this with language use in a bilingual education programme which is both schooled and literate.

Siguan and Mackey employ the term 'social bilingualism' for the use of two languages as a means of communication in any one society and stress the need to identify the "standing and function of each language" (1987:28). The lives of the Arakmbut of San José since the 1950s have brought them into situations where they need Spanish in order to communicate. A consideration of Arakmbut communicative practices must, therefore, include the 'status and function' as well as the contexts in which the different languages are used.

San José communicative practices fall clearly into two discrete domains in terms of which language is used. Spanish is used exclusively for communicating with non-Harakmbut speakers, that is in the inter-ethnic domain. Apart from a few researchers who know a limited amount of Harakmbut and the SIL linguist who formerly lived in Puerto Luz but is now retired in the US, only Harakmbut speak Harakmbut[9]. All the wahaipi in Madre de Dios speak Spanish although many have Quechua as their mother tongue and may not read or write Spanish. Spanish is the language of commerce, business, the mass media, the legal system, etc. On the other hand, all communication with families, between families and

between not only the five Arakmbut communities but the 11 Harakmbut speaking communities (that is, intra-ethnic communication) takes place in Harakmbut.

Many of the Arakmbut of San José have need for Spanish in the course of their daily lives but (as Chapter 5 illustrates) inter-ethnic communicative contexts were not only exclusively in Spanish but primarily oral. There are no written Harakmbut texts and communication in intra-ethnic contexts is oral. There are, however, a series of nine literacy booklets and different extracts from the Bible produced by SIL in Harakmbut for the Puerto Luz school. These have limited distribution and are only occasionally glanced over by the Arakmbut (see Appendix B).

Arakmbut Language Practices - Intra-ethnic Contexts

All Arakmbut learning is done through the medium of Harakmbut and in the informal context of family and community life as we noted in Chapter 6. Arakmbut children can converse freely in Harakmbut by the time they reach school age having acquired a solid foundation in their language skills and concept formation. However, language development is lifelong and there are distinct linguistic registers embedded within particular social practices which Arakmbut have the potential to acquire at different stages in their lives. We will look at these registers and practices in terms of three different genres and their particular cosmological, social and ideological significance. These genres provide an example of the diversity and complexity of the Arakmbut oral tradition.

In San José, day to day communication is still firmly entrenched in the Harakmbut language: the language of communication within the house and the kitchen, the language of disciplining children, of discussing gold work or hunting and sharing gossip. However, it is the

specialised (or 'formalised') registers of the Harakmbut language which the young say the old are reluctant to teach and which the old say the young do not want to learn. The Arakmbut distinguish three genres: 'e'machinowa' - singing; 'e'mbachapak' - narration; and 'e'menokay' - curing. Within each of these genres several different registers may be used.

Figure 5: Arakmbut Oral Genre

E'MENOKAY - CHINDIGN	CURING CHANTS: contain lists of information about animals, their foodstuffs, habitat and behaviour patterns. These are performed by older wambokerek, wetone and watone, however certain persons are recognised as being more skilled at particular chindign than others, that is chindign concerned with particular sicknesses caused by a particular animal spirit. These comprise the backbone of Arakmbut curing and are fundamental to Arakmbut philosophy of sickness and health. Chindign involve a specialised or formal register with distinct vocabularies belonging to different animals.
E'MBACHAPAK	MYTHS[10]: There are two types according to length and content but both are told by older wambokerek and watone and both are concerned with the remote past and the spirit world: LONG ORIGIN MYTHS - Wanamey, Marinke and Aiwe which are concerned with the origins of the Arakmbut physical and social world (cf Chapter 3). These can take a whole night to tell, though are often shortened. One old man in San José in particular is recognised as being best at telling these myths. They necessitate the knowledge of archaic linguistic terms and formulations. SHORTER MYTHS - concern particularly the time when certain animals were Harakmbut, how they became animals and how they appeared in human form. These are also told by elders and involve detailed knowledge of the spirit world. LEGENDS: concern factual events in the recent past which take place in the visible world and are concerned with Arakmbut characters, such as narratives about battles with old enemies (taka) and encounters with the Dominican Priests. These are told by the oldest members of the community and do not necessitate a specialised vocabulary. SAYINGS: which are short and specific, for example, to keep away rain the women bribe the clouds to go away with offers of food such as pineapples, sugar cane and manioc. However, if the rain does not like the food it will come back again.

E'MACHINOWA	SONGS: There are various different kinds of songs which can be grouped according to who is permitted to sing them (i.e. who has the social position and spiritual strength. ELDERS' SONGS - which comprise details about animals and are sung by wambokerek, wetone and watone. However, today only a few wetone know these songs and say they are too shy to perform them. They were learned from different 'dreamers' (wayorokeri) who dreamed and contacted the spirits and then passed on what the spirits told them through the songs. These songs were traditionally performed at community dances and today are still sung occasionally outside the huts on a clear night. Three old men in San José are recognised as being the best singers because of their combination of technical skill and the information contained in the song. GROUP SONGS - involve a considerable degree of technical complexity. One example from San José involved a group of five men (wambokerek). The main singer began and four joined in "to strengthen him" while the fifth sang in counterpoint in which he introduced the singers, welcomed them and explained where they came from. At times there were three or four different commentaries going on at once. They sang about people and incidents in the community. Prior to, and in the first years in the mission of Shintuya, fiestas between malocas were a time for dancing and singing. These are songs which the wambokerek sang while the young wambo and muneyo danced. These dances and songs were integral to Arakmbut courtship. IMPROVISED SONGS - heard only occasionally today, and sung by one person to another, usually expressing sentiments that would give offence if said directly. They are often sung in a state of inebriation during or towards the end of a fiesta. They are personal in nature and can be used to ridicule or vent aggression on a neighbour or kinsman. But they can also be spontaneous expressions of happiness or sadness and vary in length, content and structure according to the purpose of the singer. YOUNG PEOPLE'S SONGS - which are also about animals but are not taken seriously as are the above. They are not so freely delivered in terms of the Arakmbut style of improvisation and not so detailed in their content. They are sung by younger wambokerek and wambo[11]. CHILDREN'S SONGS - I know of only one in this category, wasasamba, which is sung by children as they hold hands and go around in a circle. They are children's communal songs/games.

While these oral communicative practices are all based on words they do in fact involve a lot more than words (Finnegan 1992). Rhythm is an important feature and some songs comprise only a few words which are subordinate to the rhythm. Songs are often accompanied by the rattling of a cluster of large shells with wild pig teeth hung inside like

clappers ('tongpi'). The essence of a myth, however, is in its performance which, though led by one principal narrator, involves the participation of the whole audience in different ways. When members of San José learn that Ireyo (a watone renowned for his e'mbachapak) is going to tell a myth, they will come from all the houses and sit around him on the ground. Women come carrying their wawedn (reed mats) and children and sit together in one group while men lounge around on the ground sometimes with legs entwined in gestures of ease and relaxation. There will be an expectant feeling in anticipation of the performance. In this oral practice the audience is an integral part of the production of the myth to the extent that we can say it is collectively fashioned. The audience participates actively with animals noises, interjections of detail, jokes and asides, dances and mimes of the action in the storyline and in this way moulds the performance. A myth becomes drama and at times there is no clear distinction between audience and performer (cf. p.168-9).

The members of San José communicate with members of their own and other communities face-to-face, thus involving other non-verbal forms of communication which complement the verbal. Nevertheless, when San José was given a short wave radio, the members of the community, both old and young, quickly accustomed themselves to using it, though for some the absence of a visible audience posed initial problems. Unlike face-to-face communication, the speaker had no first hand experience of how the message was being received or could anticipate their reactions in the absence of an immediate audience.

The radio was given with the prime motive of facilitating communication between San José and the headquarters of FENAMAD in Puerto Maldonado. At first it was dominated by the few youths and young men (wambo and young wambokerek) in the community with some secondary

schooling, and consequently a better grasp of oral Spanish than other members of San José. They set up the radio antennae and began to make regular contact with FENAMAD for information about its activities and to talk with old acquaintances from their schooldays in Puerto Maldonado. However, it was soon realised by hitherto uninterested members of the community that the radio had the potential to link Arakmbut communities and people who would otherwise see each other perhaps once every few years during a visit between communities. Letters are very rarely exchanged between Arakmbut communities and news of close relatives in more distant communities, such as Shintuya, comes from travellers. With the radio, women in San José who spoke no Spanish found they could contact a son or daughter at secondary school in distant Puerto Maldonado. They talked without inhibition, using the radio to scold and encourage their children to work hard and be well behaved.

As short wave radios were set up in several Arakmbut communities, the Arakmbut quickly realised that their own language had a power in its exclusivity. Using Harakmbut, it was possible to plan and coordinate such things as a campaign to provide electoral cards for all adults members of the indigenous Harakmbut population and try to elect an indigenous candidate in the municipal elections. The communication was beyond the comprehension of the colonists who could listen in but could not understand. FENAMAD began to try to ensure that a Harakmbut speaking member was in the office to communicate in Harakmbut with its member communities. The radio was immediately empowering, contrary to FENAMAD's ten years of frustrated attempts to communicate with its members by letter.

The Arakmbut Relationship with the Written Word

Through the extension of the traditional complementarity of gender roles to new economic activities such as gold panning, it is men who mostly communicate directly with members of the surrounding Spanish speaking society. They work with the peones, exchange their gold at Boca Colorado, buy a new outboard engine in Puerto Maldonado and lobby government ministries. Women have less use of spoken or written Spanish. They advise and discuss with their partners and families on most issues concerning wahaipis, but this takes place in the Harakmbut language.

Justina left primary school at the age of 17 having completed all 6 grades over 7 years. She was newly married and pregnant and in 1991-2 she and her husband worked together to clear and plant their first garden. She also shared the gardening work in her mother-in-law's gardens, and participated in the activities of her husband's family. I recorded her use of different languages over the space of a week and in that period she had no recourse to read, write or speak Spanish. Her aural understanding of Spanish was apparent from the responses she made to questions from two non-indigenous labourers who were working gold with her husband and for whom she cooked. She used her husband as a means through which to communicate with the wahaipis. The nearest she came to a piece of writing was to use a typed letter for drying her hands.

When a team from FENAMAD and the Eori Centre arrived to support the community over a flagrant violation of its territory, a formal denunciation was produced on paper. This denunciation was the culmination of a communal process by which a non-Arakmbut consultant from FENAMAD actually wrote the document. What the document should contain, however, was discussed and agreed upon by the community

together while the layout, structure and technical vocabulary were suggested by members of the visiting team. Once the letter had been written it was read out in Spanish and a translation of its essence given in Harakmbut. Then there followed a long procedure whereby every adult member of the community signed it. The social 'event', in this case a 'literacy event' (Heath 1983), involved the entire community and the oral language and oral interaction between the participants determined and defined the written end product.

The young schooled men and the few older men who had held official positions in the past within the native community structure signed their names and added the number of their electoral card. The wives of the former office bearers, also relatively highly educated women, signed their names but the rest of the community signed with their thumbprint. One senior man, who had been sent to the Dominican boarding school at Quillabamba in the 1960s and won a prize for his Spanish, made his thumbprint together with his monolingual age mates. To have signed his name would have been to distance himself from the group of respected and knowledgable Arakmbut elders (senior wambokerek and watone). The vast majority of the women also signed with their thumbs though most had been to school. For them, too, being able to write, albeit just their name, did not bring them any status within Arakmbut society.

The literate Spanish skills that the Arakmbut need in order to defend their territory from invasions are varied and specialised. A German national built a house on San José territory and was terrorising the community with his armoury of weapons and acting with impunity and support from the police and military forces. In the course of trying to evict the German, the community of San José made written and oral presentations to the authorities not only in Puerto Maldonado but in Lima at the German Embassy and at the United Nations Working Group on

Indigenous Peoples in Geneva.

In the past, in order to defend themselves against different forms of abuse and invasion, the Arakmbut have had to rely on missionaries, salesmen, teachers, etc. to act on their behalf. Often this was done paternalistically, and without consultation with the Arakmbut. However, today this situation is changing, partly through the offices of FENAMAD and the Eori Centre but also through the abilities of the university students some of whom have acted as representatives for their community during their short vacation visits home. They are able to use the expertise they have gained both within their academic institutions and about the workings of the institutions themselves, as well as their experience of different social practices and discourse systems to act on behalf of their own communities (see Chapter 7).

Communication in San José School

As we noted in Chapter 4, the school's approach to language is specific and restricted. Teaching and learning are organised around a particular type of alphabetic literacy and, moreover, the oral language of the classroom itself is highly influenced by features of the written language such as recitation and whole class simultaneous instruction (Green 1993). Despite the emphasis on oral language skills in the most recent Basic Curricular Programme for primary school teachers, oral communication is very limited and primarily initiated by the teacher. Indeed, the San José teachers often pose rhetorical questions which they themselves answer, and the students remain silent. The sign of hard working children for the teachers in Arakmbut communities is a silent classroom, where the spoken word is completely subjugated to the written. This makes a striking contrast with the description of the young child learning to roll string in the midst of a babble of lively

and relaxed talk under the trees in the community of San José (cf. p. 180).

Learning in the school is concentrated on memorising the written word for the purpose of assessment, itself overwhelmingly written. As Althusser asks, "What, after all, is an education system, other than a ritualization of speech, a qualification and a fixing of the roles for speaking subjects..?" (cited in Green op. cit.:204). Meek illustrates this constriction of language when she notes how in the classroom being literate also means learning specific conventions for speaking (how you ask to go to the lavatory); for reading ('this is how we hold our books'); and for writing (the difference between 'rough' and neat') (Meek 1991:127). The language sanctioned in the classroom and school is a formal register with a specific vocabulary, grammar and conventions for speaking and writing. Its communicative practices are concerned with discipline and control and a form of knowledge embodied in the written text.

Today all children go to school. Some learn the rules of the classroom and its restricted forms of communication and become 'literate' within its definition of the term, others do not. Indeed, the aims of the school and the teachers in San José in terms of literacy have strong parallels with what Christie's description of 19th century schooling: "The ability to read religious tracts or a little 'general knowledge' of the kind found in a school reader, or the ability to write a letter or a short piece on an improving 'theme', the ability to identify parts of speech and parse sentences" (Christie 1993:87). Then, schools were not places where it was intended that the spoken language should flourish, nor that the students should develop critical and enquiring minds. In San José school such a situation still prevails and the learning of rules is an end in itself. The final outcome of this

type of schooling is, for many pupils, at best, an ability to recite these rules. But it does not encourage them to question and control what they read and write. On the contrary, being constrained to work only with other peoples' texts, or within the teacher's interpretation of a text can produce and stultify enquiry and lead to "a docility that can well serve any religious, political or aesthetic majority" (Emig, cited in Green op. cit.:203). Justina does not/cannot use the Spanish language as an active means of communication, though she does have a limited passive understanding. The inability to use the Spanish language actively and as a means of expression is one of the main problems which students encounter on reaching secondary school (cf. Chapter 7).

Consequently, the language skills which the school imbues serve the Arakmbut poorly and they do not provide students with the competence they require for the wide range of communicative needs they have and the different discourse systems in which they participate outside of the primary school. In order to interpret a message the speaker/reader/writer has to know the discourse system within which the language is being used (Scollon and Scollon 1981). The school provides the students with the grammar (the 'form' of the language) but not with the ability to understand and interpret the meaning of a communication (the 'function' and the discourse system which governs the communication).

The obedience and 'docility' inculcated in association with school literacy practices and discourse, and the formal register of school language, are debilitating in many inter-ethnic situations when the President of San José has to negotiate the community's share of the municipal budget with the Mayor of Boca Colorado, or when representatives have to petition and lobby the Ministry of Agriculture and Mines for recognition of legally enshrined rights; or in the verbal negotiation of the hire purchase of a water pump and the system of

obligations upon which both parties are entering. Time and time again the Arakmbut find themselves at best unheeded and at worst cheated and abused. They need the social ability to use their grammatical competency in determinate situations (Bourdieu 1992).

For example, San José office bearers in the Native Community structure need considerable negotiating skills and confidence in their rights and how to secure them. That it took the community many months to get the school building materials (cf. Chapter 5) is illustrative of a) the Arakmbut's unfamiliarity with writing letters to lobby and chivvy in order to get things done as well as their unawareness of the importance of the written word in bureaucratic institutions; b) their inexperience of the way in which the Municipality works and in particular the wiles and deception of the Mayor of the time; and c) their ultimate realisation that, paperwork and bureaucracy withstanding, without political clout they were unlikely to receive any materials at all. By January 1994, the Municipality had still not provided the concrete for the flooring and so the school has not been built.

Therefore, not only does the school subscribe to a particular literacy practice, but the oral language associated with the school is itself subject to very circumscribed school-oriented aims, which focus on the written word. The communication practices fostered by the school are only of very limited use to the Arakmbut in their wide ranging intercultural communicative situations. The school and the teachers ignore the importance of the context within which the Spanish language is used and which gives it meaning (Lankshear 1993). This is to ignore the social context within which the communication is situated (cf. Street 1984). The members of San José are left to learn this lesson the hard way through bitter experience of being exploited and oppressed.

Arakmbut Literacy for Empowerment and 'Real World' Usage

The Arakmbut know that to be able to read and write in Spanish is potentially empowering and that through the Spanish language they can try to defend their territory and their life style. Nevertheless, it is only since these rights have been formalised by western society and written in Peruvian and international law that the Arakmbut have needed Spanish language skills to help defend them. The Harakmbut language is no help to them with this as it is not legitimised within the wider society. Within the context of the national society and the struggle for the recognition of rights which will guarantee their future as Arakmbut, and within the context of their participation in the gold economy, the Harakmbut language is not empowering.

Teaching their children to read and write in Harakmbut will not give them any of the Spanish skills they want, nor can it provide them with the same symbol of 'civilised' people and equal status with the colonists. An Arakmbut bilingual school would be a sign of their inferiority and 'otherness'. The Arakmbut have learned from their intercultural experiences that the great divide in the world for them is between those who have learned what kind of literacy society values and are empowered by it and those who have not (Meek op cit). To be literate in Harakmbut is not empowering but to be literate in Spanish potentially is. The Arakmbut of San José do not consider that Harakmbut literacy in the school has any use for them in their lives outside of the school. To justify this kind of bilingual education purely in terms of the benefit it has for facilitating learning Spanish, would be to reduce Harakmbut to an academic exercise.

But one reason for mother-tongue literacy is couched in terms of strengthening the oral language and providing it with another extended register, a tangible definitive form that cannot be eroded by societal

pressures or die out with the elders. Various writers propound the need for written and literary forms of indigenous mother tongues to widen their repertoire and become a means of expression for a new ethnic identity. In this way Peru's indigenous languages may challenge the prestige which Spanish enjoys at present (cf. Mayer 1987; Lopez 1988; Zuñiga 1989a). In the community of Villa Santiago where the Arasaeri language is confined to the oldest generation, writing and teaching the language to the children may be a means of re-establishing it. But the primary aim must be to re-establish the language as a thriving spoken language and not merely a dead language restricted to pages of a book.

The members of San José say that their language is not in danger of dying out and, moreover, they do not perceive the school, with its links with the Dominican mission, evangelisation and 'civilisation', as an appropriate forum for Arakmbut culture. Instead, for them the school is a place where Arakmbut culture and language has always been denigrated and denied any legitimacy. The Arakmbut response to the suggestion of bilingual education as mother tongue schooled literacy is not, therefore, surprising. As Seymour-Smith points out, the mother tongue must be a means of communication and transmission of valuable knowledge and not limited by the imposed system of education (Seymour-Smith 1987:13). As a means of communication the Arakmbut do not see how a written Harakmbut language produced within the school's narrow definition of 'literacy' could serve them.

In the light of this examination of Arakmbut language use, it is hard to share Davies' enthusiasm in the potential of the written language:

> Folk tales and other parts of the cultural heritage can not only be preserved but also enjoyed by new readers as members of a given ethnic group are able to write them for themselves and for other (Davies 1981b:243).

Indeed by transcribing myths for the purpose of teaching them to new readers they will become no more than folk tales and their significance reduced to the 'folkloric', that is lifted from the context that gives them meaning, and robbed of the 'performance' that is their essence (this is discussed in Chapter 9). By writing down myths, legends and songs for the exclusive purposes of the school, their meaning and significance within Arakmbut society will be severely constricted and their integrity lost. As Leap notes for the Ute Indians of North America, the printed page becomes a drab and nondescript channel for information exchange when viewed in the light of Ute tradition (Leap 1991). Moreover, the epistemological basis of knowledge will change and no longer be intimately linked with the invisible world or depend on the relationship built up between the hunter and spirits. Access to myths, songs and stories will be through the printed page and available to all, rather than mediated by age, experience, gender, etc. and pertain to each person. A written form of Harakmbut will democratise access to certain registers and, with this, to certain social practices. In the long term Harakmbut literacy has the potential to destroy the cultural practices associated with restricted access to knowledge by age and gender. Nevertheless, the written word can help to preserve and maintain certain aspects of the oral language by providing a precise written form which will outlive the individual. This presents a very real dilemma for Harakmbut communities considering whether or not to embrace bilingual education.

The complexity and sensitivity demanded in developing a written form of an oral language is well described for the Ute (Leap ibid). The Ute have had a programme for language development for over ten years and there is now a practical writing system, a cadre of Ute people familiar with the writing system and skilled in showing other people how to use

it, as well as teaching/learning materials that can be used to build up interest in reading and writing. Nevertheless, Leap reports that Ute is largely regarded by the Ute as a marginal phenomenon for several reasons: it produces a reversal of traditional leadership patterns (through democratising access to knowledge as described above); it could divide the society along the lines of those who can read and those who cannot; most of the Ute language materials are child oriented and designed to serve pedagogical functions; and people find 'real world' usefulness of 'learning to read' in Ute difficult (Leap op. cit:29).

Navajo literacy was introduced to the Navajo in the early 1900s but was received with much wariness because of the strong association of native language literacy with governmental, religious and educational efforts at cultural assimilation. Today the Navajo usually write in English and the written Navajo language is not considered a "language for life" (Edelsky 1991:53).

Any proposals for bilingual education in San José must take two fundamental factors into consideration: that the mother tongue does not have a written form; and that to produce a written form purely for the purposes of schooling runs the risk of producing an 'autonomous' type of literacy. Such a development is to treat literacy as "independent of social context, an autonomous variable whose consequences for society and cognition can be derived from its intrinsic character", rather than seeing it as a "social and ideological practice involving fundamental aspects of epistemology, power and politics" (Street 1993a:5,9).

Studies in bilingualism have frequently ignored the possibility that the mother tongue may not have a literate tradition and no history of use in any form in the classroom. Cummins, who has researched and written extensively on bilingualism and bilingual education, argues for initial instruction in the child's first language when the home language

tends to be denigrated by others and selves, and where the children come from socio-economically deprived homes (Cummins and Swain 1986). This is not a situation which fits the Arakmbut of San José. In San José, the home language is not denigrated, though it is denigrated by others. Arakmbut comprise the totality of the school population and the children do not come from socio-economically deprived homes. Furthermore, Cummins cites other circumstances which, he considers, mitigate against bilingual teaching: "where the home language is the majority language valued by the community, and where literacy is encouraged at home, the most efficient means of promoting an additive form of bilingualism is to provide initial instruction in the second language (ibid:19). In San José the home language is the majority language valued by the community but it is not a written language and literacy is not encouraged at home in any language. Accordingly, the Arakmbut of San José satisfy neither the conditions for or against bilingual education but provide weight for the argument that each case be treated on its own merits and particular set of conditions and circumstances.

Cummins provides support for this conclusion when he writes:

> Improvement of a pupil's performance is not an automatic consequence of using the minority language in school, whether it be with the aim of language maintenance, enrichment or transition...Other factors such as attitude, motivation, teaching approach, cultural transmission in the school may interact and combine to create an optimal setting. Parental interest and involvement is an important factor, as is community participation, for the success of bilingual education (in Baker 1988:89).

Bilingual education, emphasises Paulston, has to come about because of certain societal factors rather than be implanted to cause certain potentially desirable forms of behaviour in children (Paulston 1992:24). Baker puts this argument succinctly when he states that education prospers by conviction not by conformity (Baker ibid.).

Oral Language Maintenance and Cultural Revitalisation

Having had the opportunity to view their society from a different perspective, the Arakmbut university students have become aware not only of the value of their culture and language but of the odds stacked against it in the majority society. Though the Arakmbut of San José laugh at the notion of losing their language because they can point to the youngest children and say that they know and speak Harakmbut, nevertheless, cultural practices associated with specific kinds of language use are in danger of being eroded.

A few of the older people in San José believe that the loss of the ceremonies such as e'paimpak do not matter. However, there is growing concern among some of the younger wambokerek and wambo students from different Harakmbut communities that many aspects of their cultural heritage will disappear with the watone, the only people left to have witnessed these ceremonies and know the songs and dances that form part of them. They are concerned too that some of the older generation of wambokerek are not learning the myths and the songs, for it is this generation which, in turn, will teach them, the younger wambokerek, as they mature.

In a small project for cultural revaluation, Harakmbut university students began to make tape recordings of certain aspects of their oral culture. The project began with the intention of recording elder members of their communities so that they, the students, might learn songs, myths and stories of their history which are rarely heard today. However, their enthusiasm for this task and their respect for the knowledge and wisdom of their elders has produced what may be the beginning of a renaissance of oral literature and traditional rituals in several communities, including San José.

The students found that, with the co-operation and encouragement

of the elders, they quickly amassed hours of tape recordings. Other youths and young men in the communities expressed a great interest in the recordings and their potential for helping them learn the complicated myths and curing chants (cf. p.175). With their days occupied in gold panning and agriculture, they find that they do not have time to dedicate themselves to learning from the elders as young men did in the past together with less opportunities to listen to the elders, and they find it extremely difficult to learn the complex specialised registers.

However, in the hot and humid conditions of Madre de Dios there was fear that the tape recordings would soon deteriorate and become unusable. After discussion with FENAMAD co-ordinators for the intercultural bilingual project, they decided that some of this material should be written down, but that it be in the Harakmbut language in order to afford a measure of protection for the intellectual property it comprised. From a real need to find a satisfactory solution to storage and use of this material has arisen an important discussion of how to develop a written form of Harakmbut.

However, writing down the oral materials is primarily a means to an end, not an end in itself and the aim of the students and their project continues to stimulate a revaluation of the Harakmbut culture in general. The audio cassettes and the written word are only considered starting points. But the dilemmas of producing a written form of Harakmbut and its wider implications for the culture still remain. The students are currently focusing on developing an orthography acceptable to all Harakmbut communities.

Although there is already an orthography produced by the SIL missionary-linguist working with the Arakmbut of Puerto Luz (see Appendix B), this is seen by the Harakmbut communities as the product of

only one community and its dialect, and considered something of a curiosity in San José. Furthermore, it is associated with the failed bilingual school. There is therefore the further complexity of developing an orthography and writing system which suits the needs of the students and the members of all the communities, but which also reconciles differences in dialect and language between Harakmbut communities, which are tangible expressions of deep political differences and rivalries. Orthographies and systems of writing are themselves organised according to cultural practices and political ends. As Heath notes "Writing, like other systems of communication is organised in each society in culture-specific ways and according to certain norms of interpretation" (cited in Battiste 1987:109). In contrast with the SIL bilingual schooling and materials, this project was developed and is controlled by the students themselves. At present it is their enthusiasm and interest in the project that gives it its strength. With SIL, the interest and enthusiasm derived from the SIL linguist and was external to the indigenous society.

There are other examples of indigenous peoples' experience with developing a written form of their language which provide important insights into the political dimension of the process. In Nova Scotia, Canada, the Mi'kmaq people had their own indigenous pictographic writing system. However, through contact with Catholic and Protestant missionaries they have been subject to a range of writing systems, from adaptations of their own pictographs to alphabetic scripts, all of which have been dominated by political interests. For example, the Catholic missionaries adopted the Mi'kmaq symbolic system but restricted its usage and functions to prayers and their own theological doctrines in order to impose a new social order (Battiste 1986).

Today a new writing system has been developed through lively

debate and extensive consultation within the Mi'kmaq community and with considerable concern among community members over the future of their culture and religious beliefs. The new writing system now being taught in Mi'kmaq schools in Nova Scotia is considered a means of reinforcing Mi'kmaq epistemology and religious functions as well improving children's learning of Mi'kmaq (Battiste 1987). The Mi'kmaq example serves to highlight the awareness which is needed in designing a Harakmbut orthography and writing system in terms of its implications for Harakmbut knowledge.

Despite the calls for literary registers of written mother-tongue languages and a new functional repertoire (cf. Lopez op. cit.), in particular for Quechua which is the indigenous language with the largest number of speakers in Peru, Wölk (1985) emphasises that despite extensive studies into Quechua these have barely gone beyond grammar and punctuation. He points out that almost no studies have been done into Quechua discourse, which is fundamental if bilingual education is really to respect the nature of indigenous language and culture (ibid:107).

There are questions to be asked at every step by those making a translation from the oral to the written. First there is the question of what kind of transliteration is to be produced and why? The question of future audience has already been posed and answered by the students. By transcribing their tapes in the Harakmbut language the audience will be limited to the Harakmbut themselves and a few specialists. However, there remain questions of whether the Harakmbut texts are intended to be simply 'aide-memoire' to support the students own learning of the oral traditions or whether they are expected to replace the teacher/performer? In the latter case, learning would become a very different process and one between a learner and a text rather than with the originator and performer of a particular cultural practice.

Sanchez-Parga (1988) carried out a study into forms of memorisation and recording in the Quechua oral tradition and contrasted these with the memorisation practices in the formal school. He notes that in the oral language one word has a vast area of significance which invites reinterpretation and reconstruction rather than precise and faithful memorisation. In a society with a written tradition, however, the meaning of each term is defined by the text in a literal form of recording. The school demands a literal and mechanical form of memorisation which excludes invention or reconstruction because of the narrow margin for modifying the contents to be recorded (ibid:105). The written text therefore represents not only a new mode of transmission of knowledge, but a new mode of memorisation which the school promotes and which is in competition with the indigenous mode.

The problems which the young men in San José express in learning oral registers from the elders may be related to the way in which their years of formal schooling has trained them in a faithful and mechanical form of memorisation (as noted in Chapter 4), which conflicts with the inventive and constructive demands made on them by Arakmbut oral forms of memorisation. They consider that tape recordings, and possibly in the future Harakmbut transcriptions, can help them overcome this problem by allowing them the opportunity to study the tapes at their own convenience and pace. One young man in San José has made a recording of a chindign and continually moves between the tape and the elder, asking the latter for explanations and clarifications of the recording in an interactive way. The tape recording has not become a substitute for the elder. The performance element that is lost in the tape recording, and what is lost in terms of the context and 'atmosphere', are reintroduced every time the elder gives another rendering.

This situation changes, however, if the tape recording or a

transcription of the recording become the only source of the chindiqn. Any translator must be aware of the performance element, the paralinguistic and non-verbal elements which are lost in the recording and cannot be translated (Finnegan 1992). What of the tension, the differing voices, the interjections, the anticipatory silences, the sounds of the toto approaching and the wind rustling in the bamboo? How are these to be 'translated' into the written form? Repetition is an important oral technique used frequently in the telling of Arakmbut myths. However, translators I have worked with usually insist that the teller "is just repeating the same thing". As a result the written myth or song is only a fraction of the length of the original oral performance. A myth becomes even shorter and more paraphrased when translating from oral Harakmbut into written Spanish, which is in itself a double translation.

The Harakmbut students have found what they consider to be a 'real world use' for written Harakmbut. As individuals with a long experience of schooling and its literate tradition, they want to preserve the myths and songs of the elders on tape and on paper. But they need to go about this process with an awareness of the qualitative change that takes place in the translation from a three dimensional creative 'performance' to the precision of the two dimensional page. At present it is difficult to assess the influence of their schooling and literate education on this decision but as more and more Arakmbut children proceed to secondary school and higher education, resistance to mother tongue literacy may subside. Today it is the university students who are most supportive people of the introduction of bilingual education in the Harakmbut communities. Possibly a bilingual education, introduced on their terms and according to their desires, may provide the means to break down the barrier 'wall' between the school and the community.

The Pros and Cons of Bilingual Education for the Harakmbut

The Aguaruna and Shipibo have embraced mother tongue literacy and bilingual education as the way forward for them and a means of empowerment and self-assertion. The Harakmbut people, being numerically small and ethnically diverse, present a situation where each community has to be catered for according to its particular needs and socio-historical relations with formal education and the national society. In San José, there is clear opposition to the use of the mother tongue in the school as a written language. Even assuming an overwhelming enthusiasm for such a project, the production of literacy materials, school materials and post literacy materials would be a very expensive and labour intensive task for such a numerically small people. Despite DIGEBIL's rhetoric that "official alphabets for the different vernacular languages and corresponding orthographies will be widely diffused and distributed through different levels of the education system" (DIGEBIL 1991:5), the Harakmbut will have a long time to wait.

This chapter has challenged the belief held by the community of San José that the Harakmbut language is not under any threat by looking at the different oral practices. The Arakmbut of San José's opposition to mother-tongue literacy and bilingual education is founded in their lack of perceived use and need for it in their lives, as well as their historical experience of the school as an institution of Arakmbut cultural devaluation. Moreover, the processes involved in establishing and maintaining a writing system for a hitherto oral language are complex and concern the whole community not just the school. Consequently, the production of a Harakmbut writing system for school-based bilingual education will not in itself assure its adoption and use by the community, as the disuse of the SIL writing system developed in the 1960s and 1970s illustrates. Social approval can only come from its

recognised usefulness within the society and not simply within the narrow ideological, pedagogical and literary confines of the school. As Fishman points out:

> Nowhere in the world have programmes of language maintenance, revival or revitalisation been successful if their major emphasis is on the school rather than on other, more primary social processes...the school will have its role to play in the overall language maintenance design, but it will do so by serving a vibrant and purposeful community (Fishman 1985:374).

Nevertheless, the most literate members of the community, the university students, see writing as providing them with a means of safeguarding the Arakmbut oral traditions from possible disappearance. But the democratisation of access to knowledge which the written form implies may result in less enthusiastic support from other members of the community if their status and power base disappear because of shifts in cultural practices, such as open access to written chindign.

In terms of indigenous education, the development of a written form of Harakmbut for the purpose of recording different registers, genres and oral communicative practices threatens not only Harakmbut epistemology but challenges Arakmbut ontology and world view. In short it threatens the three message systems (cf. p.16) which are fundamental to indigenous education: the oral knowledge of the Arakmbut; the transmission of knowledge (for example in terms of learning and reproducing different oral genres and the emergence of certain individuals as oral repositories); and the realisation of this knowledge on the part of the taught (through an individual's relationships with the invisible world and the spirits).

However, the students' project has so far succeeded in awakening a new interest and pride in the Harakmbut oral cultural tradition which is reaching all age groups. While the students continue their complex task of trying to satisfactorily capture the oral language on paper, the

communities are rediscovering the breadth and depth of their oral tradition through oral means. Viewed in this light, the successful establishment of a written Harakmbut form taught in the school becomes less important if, in the process, the language and culture become rejuvenated. As Wölk writes:

> The use of the mother tongue in bilingual education is certainly an undeniable right for its speakers but this does not imply its implementation with a written function, especially if it is not sufficiently unified, codified and elaborated (Wölk 1989:45).

A bilingual education which is both schooled and literate is not the only possibility for the Arakmbut of San José.

Footnotes

1. The differing language policies held by RESSOP and SIL are paralleled in other parts of the world in a debate between those in favour of mother-tongue maintenance teaching and those against. Skutnabb-Kangas (1986) discusses the arguments in terms of what she calls the proponents and the opponents of mother tongue medium education for minority children and the use of conflicting interpretations of research evidence to support the differing positions. These interpretations she relates to different research paradigms with the opponents favouring a hard positivistic paradigm while proponents range between a critical and hermeneutic paradigm.

2. SIL followed a language policy and teaching schedule which comprised 80 per cent reading and writing in the mother tongue in the first year and 20 per cent familiarisation with written and oral Spanish. However, in 1972, the Ministry of Education wished to speed up the process of Spanish learning and proposed that the ratio be changed to 60 per cent mother tongue teaching and 40 per cent Spanish teaching (Davies 1981a:115). This reflects a Ministry of Education concern to improve Spanish learning by ensuring 'maximum exposure' (see Cummins and Swain 1986) and speeding up the transition from mother tongue to Spanish.

3. Motivation for ethnic minority groups is often centred on acquisition of the national prestige language as a means of access to educational qualifications, jobs and to their integration as a displaced people within the nation state (see Baker 1993). Nevertheless, while motivation may be strong for second language learning, socio-political factors within the national society may frustrate individuals' attempts to be empowered through the prestige language. There is a growing literature on bilingual education for minority students, particularly with regard to locating ethnic minority educational failure in the context of the historical and current power struggle and inter-ethnic relations in the broader society. See for example Cummins 1986; Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins 1988; Hernández-Chávez 1988; Trueba and Spindler 1989.

4. Paulston notes how the results of a study in Chiapas with indigenous Mayan peoples support the argument for learning initial reading in the indigenous mother tongue while findings from the St. Lambert project in Quebec with French immersion bilingual education for English speaking children contradicts this (Paulston 1992). This illustrates a situation where the cultural, social and political contexts are widely divergent.

5. Much of the research into bilingual education has been carried out in situations where both languages have a long literate tradition. For example Baker (1988) discusses research into programmes carried out in Canada among French and English speakers; in the US among Spanish and English speakers and in England between Punjabi and English speakers and Welsh and English.

Many indigenous languages with a written form only acquired it over the last century from missionaries. See for example Barman, Hébert and McCaskill (1987) for Canadian examples and Benton (1989) on the Maori language (which was given a written form by 19th century missionaries). From 1961 SIL began work developing orthographies for Aboriginal languages in Australia.

6. This broad ethnographic approach to understanding how literacy is perceived and accommodated within existing communicative practices and traditions is advocated by Street (1993b), and exemplified by Bloch (1993) and Kulick and Stroud (1993) in the same volume.

7. 'Register' is a linguistic concept used here to refer to a set of "particular grammatical patterns, sequences of patterns and particular items of vocabulary and sequences of items" (McIntosh 1972:248).

8. The term 'genre' is used in the sense of a cultural pattern of expression which covers both the linguistic expression and the performance characteristics such as occasion, role and context (see Finnegan 1992).

9. There is one exception to this in San Jose: a Matsigenka woman who is married to an Arakmbut and speaks Harakmbut.

10. Myths denote narrative about the remote past and events which are fact but took place in a different world (the spirit world) (cf. Bascom's three forms of prose narrative cited in Finnegan 1992:147).

11. In 1980 a (then) wambo taped several of these songs. In 1991, then a senior wambokerek, he wanted to hear them again but was roundly teased by his peers.

CHAPTER 9: INTERCULTURAL SCHOOLING FOR AN INTERCULTURAL SOCIETY

In the previous chapter the Arakmbut of San José's aspirations for schooling were found to be restricted to 'learning Spanish' to help them to communicate in intercultural situations. The chapter looked at models of bilingual education in the Peruvian Amazon and suggested that these would not be considered appropriate by San José, given its particular historical and social relations with the wider society. It became clear in the course of the discussion that language learning (and teaching) is not and cannot be divorced from the socio-cultural context within which it operates. In Peru, and many parts of Latin America, throughout the 1980s the focus on indigenous education has moved from the teaching of two languages to a consideration of the cultural context of language and the coming together of different cultural traditions. Intercultural education is concerned with the interface between the 'national' culture and the indigenous culture.

Intercultural bilingual education is now established in some areas in the Peruvian Amazon and many other indigenous peoples throughout the region are expressing their desire for it and their right to it. Indigenous peoples see a potential in intercultural bilingual education in terms of a) its ability to provide them with useful knowledge with which they can defend their interests vis-à-vis the wider encroaching society and b) as a means of revitalising and strengthening their indigenous culture (cf. Sampaio and Lopes da Silva 1981; Amadio 1987).

In its desire to develop an intercultural bilingual education project for the Harakmbut communities, FENAMAD began by looking at the different models in existence today in the Peruvian Amazon (see Appendix A). The first section of this chapter considers Amazonian intercultural education programmes in order to see how they approach the relationship

between the indigenous culture and the 'national' culture and to consider to what extent they follow the definition of intercultural bilingual education by ANPIBAC (cf. p.36). ANPIBAC's definition stresses the need for an indigenous culture base; an indigenous culture-oriented curriculum; and indigenous control of the programme. The central section discusses the implications of a programme which is firmly based in the indigenous culture in terms of the re-conceptualisation of educational specialists and pedagogy. The last section is concerned with the development of a model of intercultural education for the Harakmbut people given the heterogeneity of the communities and their demands.

Intercultural Education in the Peruvian Amazon - a Relationship Between Cultures

The DIGEBIL model of intercultural education has developed in response to a demand created by experimental programmes working in a patchwork fashion through the Amazon and the Andean regions in the 1970s and 1980s (cf. Appendix A). All the programmes follow a schooled and literate model but beyond these characteristics it is difficult to discern any unity of philosophies or practices. DIGEBIL intends that intercultural education is an education for all members of the Peruvian multicultural state designed to promote cultural tolerance (see Capella 1993). Consequently, it is not necessarily bilingual, though in the Amazon it usually is.

Whatever the term employed, there is no clear cut method for translating the aims for intercultural education into school policy. As Pozzi-Escot points out, the DIGEBIL model is very unclear in terms of developing a curriculum (Pozzi-Escot 1990a). She notes that DIGEBIL's Experimental Curricular Programme for Grade 1 Intercultural Bilingual Education does not come even close to solving the problem of the content

of such an education for indigenous children. On the contrary, she considers that DIGEBIL is presenting yet another "superficial adaptation" of a uniform national curriculum, in a long line of adaptations which stretch back to the 1950s (op.cit.:410).

This highlights the main issues which any intercultural education programme has to tackle: the nature of the relationship between the cultures and how this is expressed in terms of the curriculum. Here we will consider indigenous cultural maintenance programmes and investigate the extent to which they have a distinct theoretical approach to the interrelationship between cultures as well as languages, or are merely extensions of bilingual education. As Chapter 1 discussed, the ideological framework of a programme has implications for the theoretical perspective it adopts on the intercultural relationship as well as for the conception of 'culture' and 'curriculum' upon which they are based.

Intercultural education programmes fall into two main groups: those which see the contact between cultures in terms of adapting indigenous cultural components to suit the national curriculum and thereby attempting to make the majority culture more palatable for indigenous students; and those which are concerned to use the relations between indigenous and national culture to produce a new educational form which will take aspects of both cultures and use them to achieve an education which meets the aims of the indigenous peoples.

According to the Ministry of Education, an intercultural education is one which follows the structure of the Basic Curricular Programme but is adapted according to regional and local characteristics and has the addition of Spanish as a second language. Despite being bound tightly to the national curriculum, the Ministry of Education exhorts its teachers

and local education workers to incorporate objectives, contents and activities to regenerate and re-evaluate the 'ethnic culture'. Moreover, it adds, they should plan a harmonic strategy for developing and using both the mother tongue and Spanish (Programa Curricular Basico 1992: 'La Educación del Alumnado Vernaculohablante:67). These incorporations are to be made despite the extremely prescribed nature of the curriculum (cf. Chapter 4). The Ministry of Education is intent on closing the gap between the centrally emitted curriculum 'ideal' and the classroom reality, which leaves little space either for teacher initiative or cultural and environmental adaptation.

This curricular programme presents the conditions for an intercultural education which, rather than being based on the "indigenous child's maternal culture, developing an understanding of, and competency in, the 'national' culture" (DIGEBIL 1989:11), appears to do the reverse. The curriculum is based firmly in the national culture and selections from the local and regional material culture and environment are inserted at the teacher's discretion to illustrate and facilitate learning. The most recent editions of the school handbook Escuela Nueva have made small adaptations to include references to the Amazon region in terms of its natural resources (Escuela Nueva 2nd Grade, 2nd edition, p.178) and mentions the 'native population' in a section on 'dress' (ibid:213). This is what Pozzi-Escot (op. cit.) refers to as a 'superficial adaptation' and Trapnell (1984) condemns as a 'folkloric' interpretation of culture. Thus, while DIGEBIL calls for an intercultural education based in a child's maternal culture, the Ministry of Education's Basic Curricular Programme ensures that this is unlikely to happen.

Furthermore, the Basic Curricular Programme ensures that control of the curriculum is still dominated by specialists in the Ministry and

that choice over the content of the curriculum and selection of specific material is retained at the central level with only very limited freedom in the school or community. Developments in intercultural educational which have broken away from this centralisation are to be found in the non-governmental sector where independent funding has resulted in some radically different programmes.

- Adapting the Majority Culture Curriculum

Recently SIL has stated that it abides by the DIGEBIL definition of intercultural education whereby it aims to ensure the primacy of indigenous cultural identity in indigenous children, but has declared that, because of the linguistic orientation of the organisation and the precarious situation of many indigenous languages, it is predominantly concerned with language (Trudell 1990). SIL considers language as an extremely important and positive element of a culture since it constitutes a means of communication as well as reflecting a substantial part of the culture (Loos et al. 1981).

However, SIL also uses the term 'culture' interchangeably with 'society' and 'people' and describes its work as being geared to "providing indigenous cultures with the tools to allow them to maintain their cultural identity and adapt positively to the continuous flow of new situations" (Loos et al. ibid:368). These 'tools' are primarily linguistic. Other aspects of culture, such as music, myth or ritual, are considered secondary symptoms, epiphenomenal, and selected in order to illustrate culture in an otherwise completely non-indigenous curriculum. To this end SIL makes selections from culture to illustrate language but ignores the symbolic dimension of the facets of culture it selects. Moreover, SIL assumes that the needs of the "jungle child" are to be met in a "majority culture education which at the same time is adapted to

the needs of the local situation" (Loos et al. op. cit.:296).

Jakway, SIL linguist and educator, argues that SIL bilingual schools reflect the national pluralist ethos because they are adapted to many indigenous cultures (Jakway 1981a:283). These adaptations encompass the physical classroom which is made of local materials; the indigenous language which is used for instruction; and the teachers who are indigenous. She also emphasises that local culture is taken into consideration in the curriculum in terms of teaching materials and that textbooks are "jungle oriented" (ibid:286). This amounts to pictures of rainforest animals. In terms of mathematical concepts, Jakway notes that many indigenous languages (sic) have number systems only up to 2, 4 or 5 and that children have to gain familiarity with a counting system which is new to them. This is done, as with every other subject on the syllabus, with the aid of pictures of familiar 'jungle' objects and animals.

SIL's approach to intercultural bilingual education is well documented (cf. Dietschy-Scheiterle 1987; Aikman 1990; Trapnell 1990). Trapnell warns that this approach produces a static vision of culture. It also produces a static vision of curriculum whereby culture is used like icing on the cake and the whole creation then dished up to different schools (see Appendix A for details of a SIL-initiated bilingual teacher training college).

- Adapting with Sensitivity

The Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica (CAAAP) carried out a Social-economic-educational Diagnostic Study (Landeo 1990) of three Matsigenka communities, Palotoa, Tayakome and Yomybato (cf. Map 3) in order to introduce its intercultural education project there in co-operation with RESSOP[1]. The diagnostic study comprises geographical,

historical, economic, social and cultural data which "permits a better understanding of the reality of these communities...in order to establish a project of intercultural education in all the Matsigenka communities in the Manu National Park" (ibid:no page number). The information contained in the study facilitates a very 'descriptive' understanding of these communities in keeping with the static and bounded concept of culture which the Dominican Padres expound (cf. p.101). This conception of culture allows for an adaptation for the Matsigenka of CAAAP's Bilingual and Bicultural Experimental Education Project for the Ashaninka of the River Tambo (cf. Appendix A). Like the SIL programme, the main emphasis in the Tambo project was on language and mother-tongue teaching within the confines of the national curriculum.

However, apart from developing mother tongue literacy materials, the Tambo project produced an experimental social science textbook, Mi Tierra in Spanish (Chavarria 1987). Mi Tierra is an imaginative example of cultural adaptation. The content reflects the physical environment of the Ashaninka child while the project conforms to the aims and objectives of the national curriculum for history and social sciences. Indeed, this is its main objective and the project uses selections from Ashaninka material culture and physical environment to illustrate western forms of knowledge such as history, geography, economy and school. The chapter entitled 'Our Culture' is presented in sections comprising descriptions of house building, gardening, cooking, making a cushma (long robe), face painting and why conserving Ashaninka customs is important. Ashaninka culture is presented in terms of 'customs' which are relegated to descriptions of activities and divested of their meaning within Ashaninka society.

With some small adjustments this textbook can be made to reflect

the material culture and daily activities of the Matsigenka or the Harakmbut. However, it will not touch upon the meaning of cooking meat or face painting within the context of, for example, Arakmbut society. Chapter 6 provided a glimpse of the symbolic dimension of these material manifestations of culture which form part of an interrelated whole for the Arakmbut. A textbook, curriculum or educational programme which ignores this dimension does nothing to ensure the maintenance of these facets of culture.

In terms of the 'interculturality' of this project, CAAAP attempts, through this textbook, to focus on the Ashaninka situation in terms of their relations with the surrounding non-indigenous society. History is not purely national heroes such as Miguel Grau but it is also a history of the Ashaninka people with their own heroes. Geography is not about the composition of the population of Lima but about the rainforest and the economic activities of the Ashaninka themselves. The textbook is designed with the objective of encouraging the Ashaninka child to value elements of Ashaninka culture and encourage her/him to cherish and strengthen it. It tries to counteract the prejudices with which indigenous children are surrounded when they come into contact with non-indigenous society: the books insists "We [Ashaninka] are not lazy, we are hard working people" (Chavarria op. cit.:82).

The CAAAP Tambo Bilingual and Bicultural Experimental Education Project for the Ashaninka of the River Tambo, therefore, attempts to address the intercultural lives of the students by using some of the problems which they encounter, such as racism among the settler population in the region, to make the otherwise non-indigenous epistemological basis of the education more relevant to indigenous peoples' lives. CAAAP takes a much wider definition of culture than SIL but, nevertheless, still restricts it to a 'descriptive conception' (cf.

Chapter 1) and assumes that these descriptive facets of culture can be transposed from one Amazon people to another with only a few changes in dress or house design.

The CAAAP specialists envisage their work with these education projects as temporary and that eventually the indigenous teachers will take over the running of the project, much in the way in which SIL passed the running of its schools to indigenous teachers and supervisors. In both CAAAP and SIL programmes, teachers are very involved in the production of literacy textbooks and other textual materials in the mother tongue. However, their degree of control and decision-making is limited to maintaining an educational programme which has been designed, installed and evaluated by outside 'experts'.

Bodnar notes that many indigenous peoples themselves have followed this 'folkloric' model of intercultural education and that as a first step towards a more culturally relevant education it is a very valuable learning experience (Bodnar 1989). Nevertheless, in many parts of the Peruvian Amazon, indigenous peoples are no longer satisfied with a subordinate role in decision-making and are questioning the cultural basis and ultimate aims of education programmes developed on their behalf (as was demonstrated by the Aguaruna example in the previous chapter). By working in co-operation with the indigenous peoples concerned, and by taking both a more dynamic approach to curriculum and a more meaningful conception of culture the two following programmes, PEBIAN and AIDESEP/ISPL, attempt to break away from mere adaptation of the national curriculum and produce a fundamentally indigenous intercultural education.

- Intercultural Education to Combat Indigenous Marginalisation

The Programme for Intercultural Bilingual Education in the Alto Napo River (PEBIAN), is based in an analysis of the marginalisation of the Napuruna and Siecoya indigenous peoples and the structural changes necessary to liberate them (for details of this programme and bibliography see Appendix A).

For PEBIAN, intercultural bilingual education is based on the values, philosophy and indigenous education of the people and consequently is concerned with a holistic and symbolic concept of culture and specifically Napuruna and Siecoya ways of life. By working closely with the indigenous peoples, the programme has been developed through research into indigenous education, cosmology, history, oral tradition and social conditions. For the Napuruna and Siecoya peoples, intercultural bilingual education complements their traditional indigenous education system and can critically incorporate valid elements from other cultures without jeopardising indigenous identity.

The programme emphasises indigenous decision making at the family, community and indigenous organisation levels and the teachers are all indigenous. An important part the programme includes adult education and non-formal education which breaks with other programmes and their exclusively formal school mould. Slowly the programme is becoming the responsibility of the bilingual teachers as they take over positions formerly held by non-indigenous specialists.

Unlike the previous programmes discussed, PEBIAN does not try to forge something indigenous onto the national system, nor does it try to forge something national onto the indigenous system. What it has tried to do is develop a new form of education which takes the interface between cultures as its starting point. It puts the oppression and injustices which characterise the intercultural relations of the

Napuruna and Siecoya peoples at the centre of its curriculum and analyses the indigenous situation in terms of their marginalisation and dependency vis-à-vis the wider capitalist society.

- An Indigenous-determined Intercultural Education

The AIDESEP/Instituto Superior Pedagógico de Loreto (ISPL) programme presents its philosophy of intercultural education in terms similar to those of DIGEBIL:

> Its object is to train new generations of indigenous peoples with the conscious ability to manage the technological, social, linguistic and autochthonous spiritual inheritance of their native Amazon societies and of the knowledge and values propagated by the surrounding society (Gasché et al. 1987:4).

Nevertheless, the AIDESEP/ISPL programme marks an new direction in indigenous teacher training and intercultural education in Peru. Its aims are framed in terms of the indigenous movement and its demands for self-development are based in an indigenous analysis of indigenous relations with the wider capitalist society. Indigenous control is paramount and indigenous professionals, leaders and representative organisations have been involved in the programme from its inception. The programme designers stress that their approach is based first and foremost on an indigenous conception of 'culture' (in contrast to SIL) which is holistic and all-embracing and founded in principles of co-operation and collective rights. Furthermore, they recognise that indigenous culture and world view is grounded in respect for the environment. Educational theory and practice are approached from the perspective of traditional indigenous education taking indigenous philosophy, its methods and contents as principle guidelines. This programme reflects many of ANPIBAC's aims for bicultural and bilingual education.

The AIDESEP/ISPL programme aims to provide its students with the analytical tools to develop a non-indigenous awareness of their own cultures and societies, and from which they will be able to understand the processes and influences that are affecting and changing their societies and cultures at present. As with PEBIAN, AIDESEP/ISPL intercultural education is concerned with empowering indigenous peoples and ensuring that they have the potential to be protagonists in their own lives. It aims to train new generations:

> ..in terms of their participation in the development of their own societies (as members of a multi-ethnic state) which is based in alternatives drawn up from the conscious management of the concepts of both social systems and of an understanding of the processes and the historic dynamic which to date has determined the situation and the present forms of these societies (Gasché op. cit:4).

The training course represents an ideological break from other courses and concentrates on supporting trainees in developing their own primary curricula (see Appendix A). Rather than constructing the primary curriculum around different subjects and fragmenting the indigenous reality in a non-indigenous way, it is integrated around the analysis of significant problems for the teacher and community (Trapnell 1986). The focus of the curriculum is, as with PEBIAN, the problematic interface between the indigenous and non-indigenous 'worlds'. DIGEBIL is anxiously waiting the outcome of these experimental curricula and new curriculum guidelines with a view to adopting them as a regional framework for indigenous schools.

Intercultural Education Based in which Culture?

The four programmes discussed above have two basically different orientations towards culture and, consequently, intercultural education. SIL and CAAAP, on the one hand, provide examples of what Stairs calls a cultural-inclusion approach to educational development, while PEBIAN and

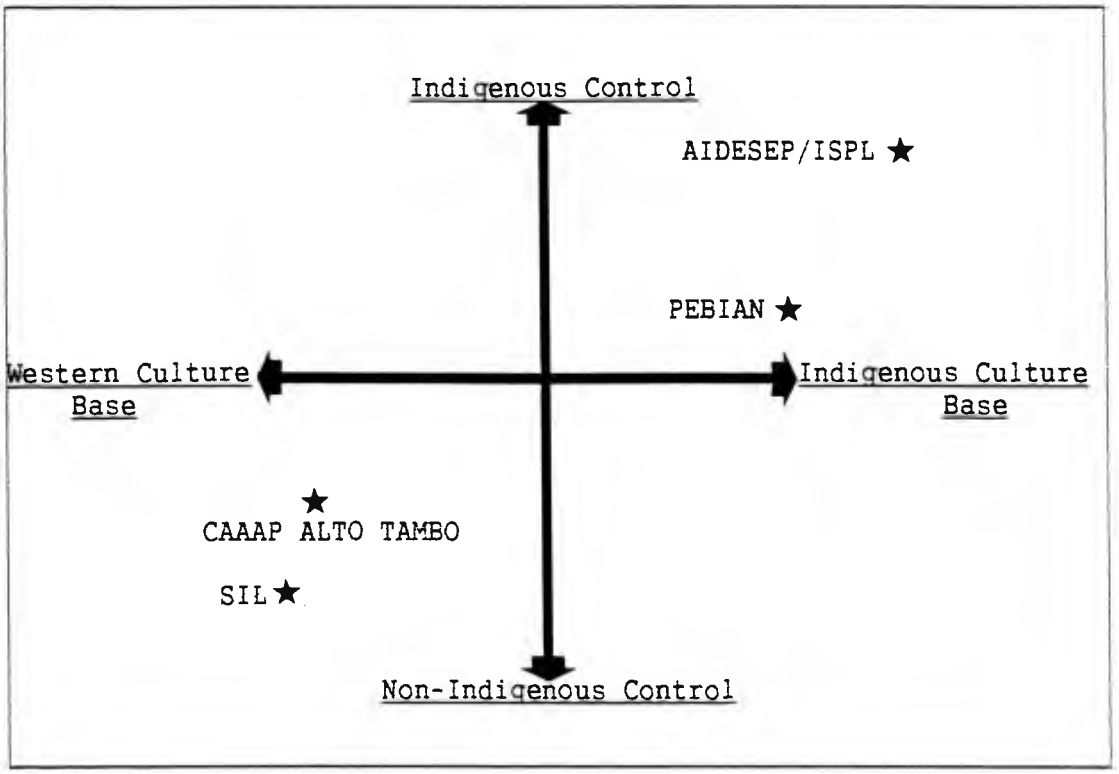


Figure 6: Intercultural Education Programmes in Relation to Cultural Orientation and Control

AIDESEP/ISPL have a culture-base approach (Stairs 1988). With the former, selections from the indigenous culture, where culture is a static and bounded phenomenon, are included in the otherwise entirely majority culture curriculum (see Figure 6). With the latter approach, the aim of intercultural education is not to counterpoise elements of 'traditional' knowledge with 'modern' knowledge, but rather to search for solutions to the very real problems facing indigenous communities (Rivera Pizarro 1987). This demands a conception of culture which is dynamic, meaningful and holistic[2].

Though the SIL and CAAAP programmes vary in their specific aims, they both focus on cultural knowledge to the exclusion of indigenous modes of transmitting knowledge, or indigenous cognitive and interactional styles. Their restricted conception of culture obscures the culturally determined basis of learning and teaching and consequently confines areas of the curriculum, such as methodology and

evaluation, to the majority culture base. Principles of pedagogy and child development are assumed to be universal, which in practice means that they are based unquestioningly in principles of the majority society.

The reason for this may be sought in the concept of cultural variants and invariants. Lawton (1983), in his advocacy of curriculum planning based on cultural analysis looks for 'cultural invariants' in order to use these as his major parameters. He lists these 'cultural invariants', or universals, in terms of eight cultural systems within which cultural variants occur, that is the specificities of individual cultures. While SIL and CAAAP do not write in such terms about their programmes, this conception of culture provides a possible explanation of why these programmes confine their 'cultural selection' to the material manifestations of knowledge. Thus, the SIL and CAAAP programmes appear as intercultural only when viewed from a perspective whereby methodology, aims and objectives, teaching and learning styles, forms of knowledge and evaluation are all considered to be cultural universals.

Lawton (ibid.) describes each of his eight systems separately and prefaces each with "all societies have...". However, what he fails to take into account with these generalisations is that the different systems which derive from his cultural analysis are based on his own cultural perspective and presumptions about what culture is, how it can be analysed and how it can be divided up. Arakmbut culture cannot be divided like this without losing its integrity. The Arakmbut do not have a concept of 'economy' or an analytical concept of an 'economic system'. As Chapter 6 demonstrates, Arakmbut knowledge and learning Arakmbut culture clearly cannot be meaningfully divided into 'technology system' or 'belief system', two of Lawton's systems. They are part of an indivisible whole which relates to a particular dynamic and multifaceted

Arakmbut view of the world. A bow and arrow used in hunting is endowed with symbolic meaning, from the type of wood used and its relations to the piece of peach palm wood inserted in a youth's lower lip to his move into manhood (and his full ability to hunt), to the type of arrow used which has a special relationship to the different Arakmbut clans and the origin myth of Wanamey. For Lawton a bow and arrow belong to his 'technology system' and "learning to use and to improve tools is always an important feature of cultural life" (op. cit.:34). For an Arakmbut, learning to use a bow and arrow is important and all wambo learn the skill, but their learning and ability is constrained more by their sex, age and their relationship with the spirits of the forest than technique and skill. Improving the design of a bow or making new type of arrow is not a consideration because the designs have been given to the Arakmbut in distant mythological time.

The notion of improvement highlights a fundamental paradigmatic difference between Lawton's world view and the Arakmbut world view, that is, a linear perspective of change. Lawton presents his 'simplest level of cultural analysis' in terms of questions about the kind of society that exists and its members' desires for its development. He also talks in terms of a society transmitting the eight systems through educational institutions, where education involves 'improvement' of some kind (ibid:37-38). However, the Arakmbut have no concept of 'development' and what they pass on to their children is not an ability to develop their world, but rather the means to cope with it and try to maintain a balance between the visible and the invisible realms which it comprises (cf. Gray 1994).

Lawton's universal parameters and cultural invariants are challenged by, among others, the Latin American educator, Magenzo (1988), who believes that it is the cultural variables that should form

the basis for cultural analysis not the invariables. In the light of the foregoing examination of the cultural bases of Amazonian intercultural education programmes, we can see that the use of 'cultural universals' have justified an ethnocentric approach to education and promoted assimilationist aims in the guise of cultural pluralism. Only by allowing indigenous peoples control over their own educational programmes so that they can determine the concept of culture and curriculum will a genuinely 'culture-base approach' to intercultural education be possible.

PEBIAN and AIDESEP/ISPL challenge the universality of majority society principles of pedagogy and child development. Their aims are to develop indigenous education programmes with intrinsically indigenous cultural bases whereby knowledge and the tangible manifestations of culture are encompassed by a culturally appropriate pedagogy, indigenous philosophy and knowledge base. In order to do this, these programmes question the narrow conception of curriculum as a static programme designed by specialists for indigenous teachers to deliver to indigenous students. Instead, they advocate a curricum as a dynamic practice developed through action research and community participation. Just as culture is constantly being created, so 'curriculum' must reflect the dynamism of the culture and society. These programmes also redefine the concept of 'specialist' in the context of planning, developing and implementing an intercultural education. They are concerned to produce a new form of education which suits the demands and needs of indigenous peoples as expressed by indigenous peoples in their intercultural lives.

Redefining the 'Specialists'

In the AIDESEP/ISPL programme the trainee teacher is supported by non-indigenous professionals and supervisors who work together with the trainee teacher. This relationship between trainees and professionals stands in direct contrast to the authoritative and hierarchical relations which exist between teacher and supervisor in indigenous school in the Madre de Dios today (cf. p.83). Unlike the teachers in San José, whose classroom is their castle and any adult entering that domain is viewed with suspicion, the indigenous teacher must work to ensure that the classroom is a place for the whole community and, moreover, that the community and its territory are part of the classroom.

An indigenous culture-based education must also break away from the belief that the teacher is the specialist in teaching and repository of all school knowledge. In contrast, for an Arakmbut child learning in the informality of the community, everyone is a potential teacher and the learning materials are part of everyday life and integrated into everyday activities. Children learn different things from different people and knowledge is not only diffused through members of the society but through the society itself in terms of kinship and clan relations. Young men (wambokerek) seek out mentors from whom they learn about the spirits, about curing and about animals, but by far the most learning that takes place in Arakmbut society does not happen in specifically pedagogical situations. As we noted in Chapter 6, a mother does not set out to teach her daughter to make a reed mat, yet by the time she reaches the age when she is permitted to make one, she has already mastered all the techniques.

The indigenous culture-base intercultural programmes discussed above, are attempting to move the focus of decision-making away from educational specialists working in educational centres to the indigenous

community where the specialist knowledge of the indigenous culture lies. This has important implications for the teacher and for her/his relations with the community. Nevertheless, in much of Latin America the indigenous community has internalised the notion of the teacher as a member of the 'outside' society. Moreover, teacher training involves so many years away from the indigenous community that when indigenous trainees return as teachers they may feel an 'outsider' and custodian of all knowledge to be learned (cf. Amodio 1989). AIDESEP/ISPL has tried to overcome this problem by insisting that the trainees are chosen by their indigenous organisations and have their support and backing[3].

In an indigenous culture-base education programme, the teacher has to be part of a team comprising other members of the community who are 'specialists' in their culture and society. What makes a good teacher and team member in community terms may have more to do with a teacher's personal relations with other members of the community and particular students than their degree of formal training (Harris 1992a). The intercultural teacher has to encourage the community's active participation to develop together a critical education which integrates students and teachers into a mutual creation and re-creation of knowledge (Shor and Freire 1987). Therefore, intercultural education demands that the teacher be also a coordinator and team member. The community itself has a new active part to play in the school which may range from electing 'teachers' to actively administrating and running the school, as well developing the curriculum and teaching it. This may also include a wider perspective of who is a 'student' and involve children, adults and teacher(s) in a more flexible and interchangeable relationship between learner/teacher[4]. The control of the content of the education in this way is brought down from the distant heights of the national curriculum development centre to the community, thus

closing the gap between the curriculum as an ideal and the curriculum as a social practice based in the demands of the users and oriented towards tackling the issues as they define and redefine them.

An Indigenous Pedagogy

An indigenous culture-base curriculum also raises the question of the theory and methods of teaching and learning. A pedagogy is itself a form of political and cultural production which is deeply implicated in the construction of knowledge, subjectivities and social relations (Giroux 1992). The trainee-researcher on the AIDESEP/ISPL course receives training in western concepts of child development and at the same time is researching indigenous child development among her own people. In the classroom and the community the trainee is encouraged to distinguish differences and/or similarities in styles of cognition, interaction and learning. In order to make the comparison between cultural bases, the trainee is trained to analyse indigenous pedagogies in non-indigenous terms: the analysis and the verbalisation of the pedagogies form part of the majority culture base.

Nevertheless, research being carried out in other parts of the world indicates that many indigenous teachers teach according to their own cultural pedagogical practices anyway[5]. Canadian studies highlight the way in which indigenous teachers tend to utilise a cluster of teaching strategies which are consistent with their own cultural practices (Barman et al. 1987). In a study of teachers' use of the Quechua language in Puno, Hornberger concludes that in a bilingual classroom with a Quechua speaking teacher, the latter uses the language within a Quechua discourse (Hornberger 1989). She found that teacher use of Quechua in bilingual classrooms was both quantitatively and qualitatively different from teacher Quechua use in a non-bilingual

classroom where Quechua was used only as a direct translation of Spanish.

What Hornberger is highlighting in terms of language use is the different culture-base in the two classrooms, the non-bilingual (Mestizo base) classroom and the bilingual (Quechua indigenous base) classroom. In the latter, the Quechua cultural rules govern discourse which includes much more than merely grammar or syntax. It also comprises, for example, interactional and communicative style. In the indigenous culture-base classroom, teachers and children relate according to indigenous norms for presentation of self, such as the distribution of talk between people, when to begin and end talk and interrupting (see Scollon and Scollon 1981).

In contrast to the previous chapter which approached bilingual education from the perspective of language and its use, this chapter illustrates the importance of an indigenous-base pedagogy for indigenous children in terms of providing the cultural context within which language has meaning. From this perspective we can appreciate how the discourse rules encompass much more than language use; they also encompass non-verbal communication. In San José the children are reluctant and uneasy when asked to demonstrate their learning through verbalisation. In their own indigenous culture they do not stand up before other members of the community or age mates to recite or sing for praise (cf. the young girl making a wenpu, p.188). In a culture-base education, indigenous children learn through their communication, social interaction and symbolic interaction all of which are meaningful and familiar to them.

An Arakmbut teacher using an Arakmbut culture-base teaching methodology would be sensitised to, for example, the interrelatedness and spiritual nature of Arakmbut knowledge in contrast to the western

positivist paradigm and the compartmentalisation of knowledge. She would be aware of the organisation of social relations and of the principles governing collective rights and community cohesion (though not expressed or formalised in these terms) in contrast to a western individualistic and progressional view of the world. She would know the restrictions of access to Arakmbut knowledge (for example through age group) and how its value is related to the people who give it (for example whether the giver is a member of the same clan or not) rather than anything intrinsic in the knowledge itself. Being Arakmbut and sharing an Arakmbut view of the world with his/her students is what other non-Arakmbut teachers cannot do.

These insights have practical considerations for the classroom and can contribute towards creating an atmosphere which is conducive to learning rather than obstructive. For example, Arakmbut women and men sit segregated on most communal occasions, such as when listening to myths and songs. The whole dynamics of the classroom may be changed if the status of older students as wambo (young men) and muneyo (young women) was recognised and they were consequently seated apart rather than in close proximity to each other. This would respect the fact that these individuals had reached a stage of maturity where all relations with the opposite sex are regulated according to who is potentially marriageable and who is not. Similarly, wambos and muneyos have very different social status from wasipos in the community. By distinguishing between these categories of students and recognising the indigenous differentiation of learning within the school, conflict between cultural norms for social interaction, social recognition of status and the acquisition of knowledge could be avoided. Children in San José learn in multi-generational contexts and, moreover, have a great deal of freedom over their learning activities. This contrasts starkly with current

strict teacher control of the school over such things as time (timetable, calendar, distribution of tasks within the classroom) and space (seating, freedom of movement and communication etc.). Only community members can decide what is culturally appropriate for intercultural education. Nevertheless, an indigenous pedagogy, as Au and Jordan stress, need not necessarily try to replicate the learning contexts present in the child's non-school environment but can build upon a parallel situation (1981)[6] .

The AIDESEP/ISPL programme provides one model of intercultural education where the school becomes the centre of attention for a new focus on indigenous minority/majority relations and where the nature of these relations themselves become the content and focus of the curriculum. Trapnell writes: "intercultural education covers both formal and informal education, [and] we must not fall into the temptation to try to supplant through the school, the role which the family has always had in educating its children..". The orientation of this programme, in its initial stages at least, is on the formal school (1984:245). It will be for indigenous federations and communities in the future to develop, together with the teachers, a dynamic process of curriculum development which reflects their intercultural lives.

Intercultural Education for the Harakmbut People

San José is in many ways a privileged community in that it has found ways of protecting its language and culture while coming into close contact and under strong pressure from the dominant society to discard both language and culture. Gerardo Wipio, then Director of the Instituto Superior Bilingüe de Yarinacocha, (Bilingual Teacher Training Institute), and indigenous Aguaruna, illustrated graphically the road to bilingual and intercultural education for many indigenous peoples (cf.

Figure 7).

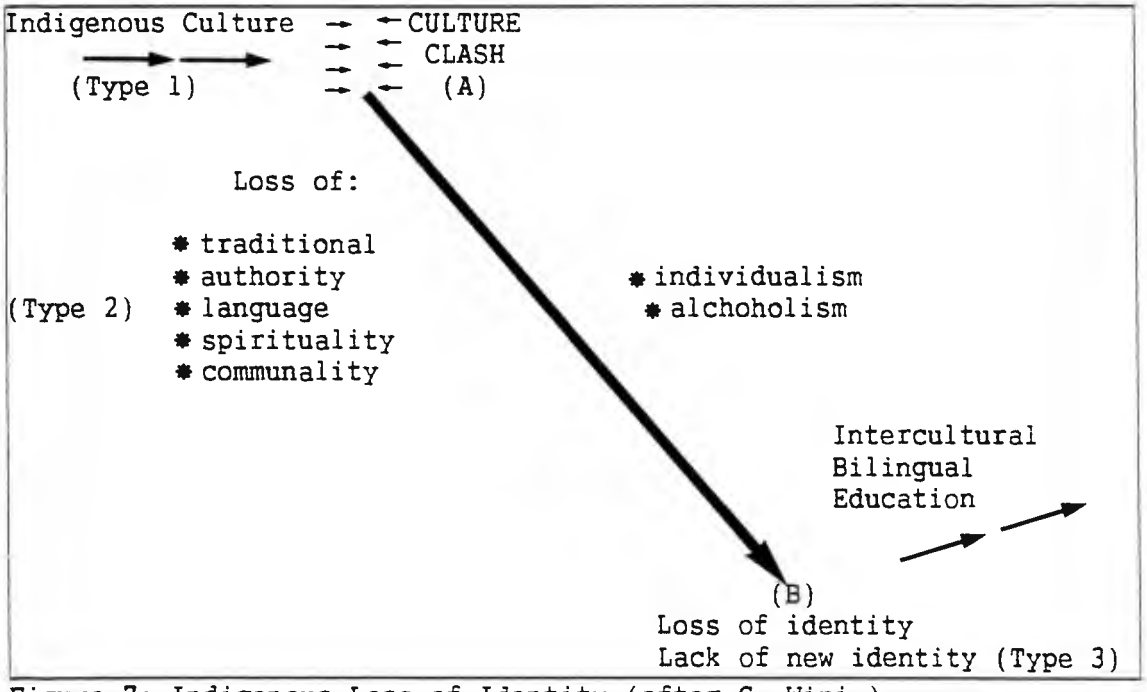


Figure 7: Indigenous Loss of Identity (after G. Wipio)

He explained that the encounter between an indigenous society and the national society is of such an unequal nature that the indigenous cultural traditions often begin to breakdown under the depreciatory influences of the former (point A, Figure 7). The signs of breakdown manifest themselves in the younger generation's rejection of the older generation and a collapse of authority and inter-generational respect within the society. Sometimes this is accompanied or followed by increased drinking and alcoholism and a loss of cohesiveness and complementarity between sexes. The indigenous language can be lost from one generation to the next and often with it an intimate relationship with the land. It may not be until a society has reached the bottom of the abyss (B), when the indigenous identity of the people is almost lost, that its members become aware of what they have lost and how they have not acquired another cohesive identity in its place.

At this point (B) it is very difficult to recover all that has been lost. Nevertheless, it is often at this point that a people will turn to intercultural bilingual education as a means of trying to recuperate some sense of indigenous identity. Wipio emphasises that it is possible to climb the ladder again but that the indigenous society can never hope to regain all of its former cultural wealth. Instead of waiting until the bottom has been reached before adopting intercultural education, indigenous peoples must use it to strengthen their indigenous identity and as a means of combatting the breakdown. The optimum time to embrace intercultural bilingual education is before the breakdown begins so that it can help strengthen and maintain a thriving indigenous culture and resist future attempts to undermine it (G. Wipio pers. comm. 21.01.92).

Table 16: Harakmbut Communities and Cultural Erosion

Erosion of Facets of Indigenous Culture		
Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
Self-confidence Territory	Self-confidence Territory Intergenerational respect Specialised language registers Hunting	Self-confidence Territory Intergenerational respect Specialised language registers Hunting Spirituality Communality Indigenous identity

Wipio's model of cultural erosion can be looked at more closely in terms of the typology of Harakmbut communities discussed in Chapter 3 (see Table 16). The three Harakmbut community-types were identified according to characteristics such as type of schooling, desire for intercultural bilingual education, degree of dependency with RESSOP and the Diocese, the pressures and proximity of colonists, language spoken by children, etc. What these categories produce are three types of communities in terms of the degree of destructive contact they have

experienced and their response to proposals for educational change. They can also be placed at different points along Wipio's diagram of cultural erosion and loss of identity. Thus, Figure 7 illustrates how the Type 1 communities (for example, San José) are poised at the top of the abyss. These communities are not yet in a downwards spiral, though they are coming precariously close to the edge as their self-confidence is attacked and their territorial base invaded. They are not very open to educational change, unlike the Type 2 communities (for example Barranco Chico) which have begun to descend the slope and, with an increasing awareness of the threat to their language and way of life, are searching around for ways of halting their descent. Intercultural bilingual education presents itself as a possible means of reasserting their cultural integrity. The Type 3 communities (for example, Villa Santiago) are nearing the bottom and looking for ways of reconstructing the identity they have almost lost. Theirs is a long and uphill struggle.

These communities can also be viewed as standing as different points along a continuum with those with the strongest language and culture base at one end and those with the most eroded at the other (Figure 8).

San José stands at the culturally 'strongest' pole while Villa Santiago stands at the 'most eroded' pole. However, while at first glance San José would seem to offer most possibilities for an indigenous culture-base intercultural education because of its strong language and strong indigenous identity, its members are least amenable to educational change. Though their culture and society have undergone considerable changes since their first sustained contact with the Dominicans and Peruvians in the 1950s (cf. Chapter 3), it has not suffered to such a degree that its members are highly conscious of the potential threat of culture loss. They interpret the pressures around

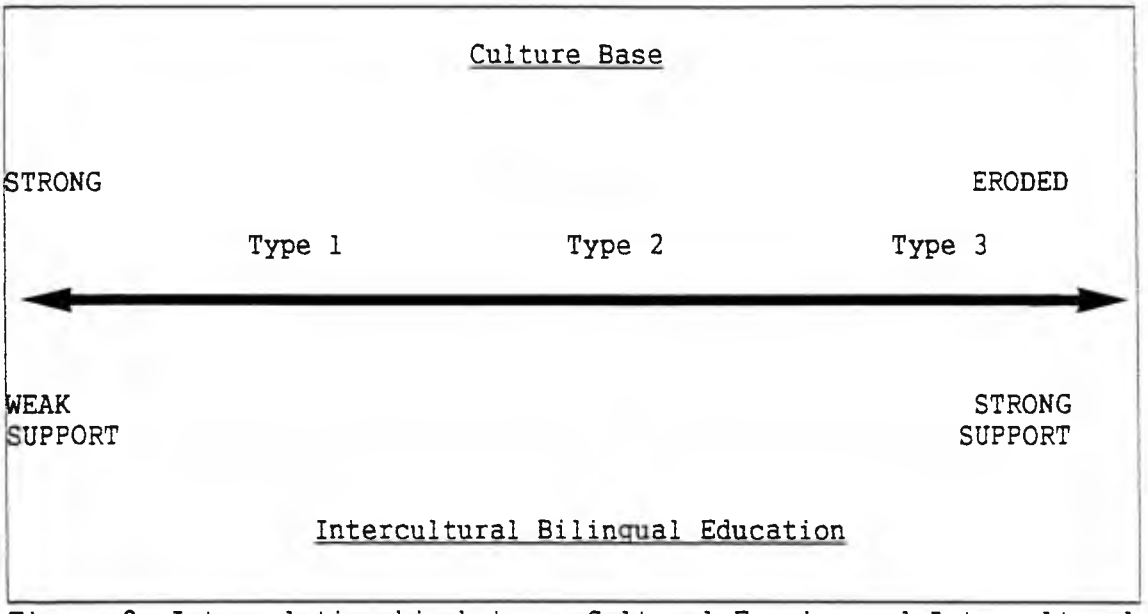


Figure 8: Interrelationship between Cultural Erosion and Intercultural Education

them as pernicious in terms of their land and gold work but take their culture and its continuing strength largely for granted. As a consequence of this, the majority of Arakmbut see no need to initiate means to protect it and no interest in what intercultural education might have to offer. As long as the community is complacent about its cultural integrity, it is vulnerable from the many influences surrounding it (cf. Chapter 8).

Barranco Chico, a Type 2 community, has experienced and is experiencing more imperative and destructive contact and social upheaval than San José. The community has made alliances with non-indigenous settlers who have become associate members of the community in order to form a defensive front against illegal colonists. Pressures from these illegal colonists involve them in a daily, and often violent, struggle to maintain their gold panning areas, and large companies have built roads through their small territory. They are fighting to maintain their landbase, their rights as the original peoples of the area and their indigenous Arakmbut identity. This type of community presents a more extreme situation of a society and culture under attack than that of San

José. The Harakmbut language is being challenged in some families by Spanish and intermarriage. The presence of non-indigenous associate members of the community means that the language of communication at meetings is Spanish and that outward manifestations of their culture, such as myth telling and singing, rarely take place.

The people of Barranco Chico are receptive to intercultural education, though as an initiative introduced to them by FENAMAD they have not formulated any clear ideas themselves about its shape or form. Nevertheless, their dissatisfactions with the formal schooling which their children receive at present have crystallised into certain demands. Communities in this category see intercultural education as an opportunity to have an indigenous teacher, rather than a Mestizo and/or lay-missionary teacher, and to have more control over the running of the school and the quality of the education. Improved quality is considered important for providing better majority society skills with which to defend the community's territory.

At the other end of the spectrum are Type 3 communities such as the Arasaeri community of Villa Santiago. The Arasaeri, a Harakmbut people, suffered the genocidal effects of the Brazilian rubber exploitation at the turn of the century (cf. p.44). Consequently, the community is small (numbering some 56 individuals) with a high percentage of children and youths (Rummenhöller and Lazarte 1990). Villa Santiago has the highest percentage of students in, or completed, higher education of all the Harakmbut communities and these individuals are strong supporters of intercultural education. However, until the late 1970s, the younger members of Villa Santiago, (including some of those who are politically active today) were not aware of their indigenous heritage and did not perceive themselves as culturally distinct from the settler population surrounding them.

Children in this type of community grow up with only a partial perspective of what it is to be indigenous and have not acquired the spiritually-based world view that is held now by only a few elders. In Villa Santiago the spiritual relationship between hunter, cook and hunted game no longer exists. Clan affiliation has ceased and numbers are so small anyway that clan exogamy would be impossible. There are no traditional authorities left, though the two elders continue to receive considerable respect within their immediate families. Nevertheless, there is little co-ordination between families and most work independently from each other. Gardening is confined overwhelmingly to growing plantains and the women do not grow barbasco. Consequently, fishing, which is the community's main food supply, is not a communal activity (in contrast to San José, cf. Chapter 6). The children and younger adults know only a handful of Harakmbut words and are not familiar with any of the major myths of the Arasaeri canon. They are only just becoming aware of the slavery and genocide to which their grandparents were subject only seventy to eighty years ago. For the members of this type of community, intercultural education is seen as a means for improving majority society skills and reintroducing the indigenous language in a written form for children in school together with booklets of myths and stories gathered from the few remaining elders.

Therefore, Harakmbut communities display a considerable heterogeneity in terms of strength of cultural traditions and practices (including language), and degree of awareness of cultural erosion and indigenous identity. At one end of the scale the Arakmbut of San José are brought up within a thriving indigenous society with a distinctly Arakmbut view of the world. The community is not alert to threats to their cultural traditions and want purely lay-missionary monolingual and

monocultural schooling. At the other end of the scale, in the community of Villa Santiago, the children no longer speak the indigenous language and the community is almost overwhelmed by the dominant cultural practices of the national society. For the members of this type of community the indigenous language spoken by elders is the last outward expression of their indigenous identity and their first concern is to reintroduce the language through the school in a written form. They perceive other aspects of culture, such as myths, stories and 'customs', in a folkloric way because their symbolic and embedded meaning has been eroded[7]. An 'adaptation' of the official curriculum with indigenous control and decision-making may be a first step towards re-establishing an indigenous culture-base for these communities.

These wide-ranging types of communities provide a challenge for any intercultural education programme in terms of incorporating their different characteristics and needs. It must facilitate, at one extreme, a school-based literate language and cultural regeneration programme where the cultural resources for this are concentrated in the hands of a few elders. At the other extreme, it has to accommodate communities which have abundant cultural resources but resist these being focused in the institution of the school.

Despite the obvious differences between these types of communities, there are certain common characteristics in the approach of the Harakmbut people towards intercultural education. They share a view that any educational programme will be school based whether or not they reject it. This attitude arises out of their common experience of a very rigid notion of 'education' as 'schooling'. They also have a common view that intercultural education is primarily concerned with language, which also relates to their experiences of schooling and the equation of school with the Spanish language, as well as their negation of the

learning which takes place within the community domain as being 'education'. For Type 1 communities this elicits a negative response to intercultural educational development because the communities want to keep their language out of the school; in Types 2 and 3 this elicits a positive response because these communities are critical of the quality of school education and are enthusiastic about change. With Type 2, school offers the possibility of strengthening the Harakmbut language through an indigenous teacher, while for Type 3 the school is seen as the only hope for teaching Harakmbut, and this will have to be within a methodology of Harakmbut as a second language.

In terms of their concerns for their future and integrity as a people, the Harakmbut communities are most concerned for control over land, money and organisational structures in relation to outside cultures. Bullivant (1984) would consider this as a concern primarily for their 'economic base' in contrast to concern for their 'ideational base' and 'cultural survivability'. Indigenous peoples whose demands are most concerned with ideas, beliefs and cultural practices and traditions would be most likely to support a culture-base approach to educational development. In terms of Type 3 communities it might be argued that their 'ideational base' has already been eroded. In the case of San José, however, this is not so.

Nevertheless, all Harakmbut communities today live in situations where their 'physical survivability' is under threat. The next section will consider where educational change features in San José's priorities in terms of securing their future.

Strengthening Arakmbut Indigenous Identity: the Place for Education

In 1985, when the then San José community President, Tomas Quique, posed the question "And after the gold rush? What will be left for our people?" (cf. p.63), he was expressing the great concern of not only his community but all Harakmbut communities - that the future presented a very bleak prospect for bringing up their children. By 1992 the same leader was concerned not only for the well-being of his children but for their physical survival, faced with death threats from illegal colonists living on San José's territory.

Arakmbut attitudes towards education must also be seen in the context of wider pressures and concerns. The strain of worry about their physical survival and continual abuse from colonists has produced a situation where members of the community swing between periods of 'resistance' and 'resignation' about their lives (Gray 1986). The periods of determination give way to resignation when they find themselves impotent to improve the situation, and impotent to remove colonists who destroy their hunting, blasting away their riverbanks, robbing their gardens and forcing them off their own beaches at gun point. Under such circumstances education is not a priority concern for the Arakmbut of San José.

The Arakmbut do not talk in terms of losing a philosophy of life or spirituality and they do not struggle on those terms. However, their increasing desperation for their forest and their rivers is in essence a concern for their cultural integrity because concern for their 'economic resource base' is at the same time concern for their relations with the spirits of the forest and the animal spirits, which are in turn part of an interrelated world and control sickness and health, life and death.

Other indigenous peoples share this intimate relationship with the land, where ensuring their rights to their territory is a question of

maintaining their indigenous identity. Once this has been secured, then using education to strengthen this identity becomes important. As a Kaxinawa from Brazil expresses it:

> The future is in [territorial] demarcation, because when our land is demarcated we have all our future for our schools, because within this territory we teach and learn what we know (Joaquim Paulo Mana, cited in Lindenberg 1989:215).

The Cree of James Bay, Canada, faced the potential destruction of their land in the 1970s through the construction of a hydroelectric dam. They fought back and in doing so constituted their own system of local government, land and resources that guaranteed that their traditional way of life of hunting, fishing and trapping could continue without intrusion from outsiders.

> With these basic matters dealt with, we felt we could deal with the question of education, knowing that our culture and society would continue to grow and prosper and that we could adapt an education and pedagogical system that would meet our demands (Diamond 1987:88).

Diamond supports the idea that there is a 'first things first' approach based in the daily experience of the struggle to maintain a way of life. At the present the Arakmbut feel swamped by illegal colonists and are expending all their time and energy on this problem. The question which confronts them on a daily basis is how to feed their children. As their subsistence base becomes threatened and hitherto complementary activities, such as gold panning, become less viable, their way of life is threatened. They are beginning to search for commercial alternatives but with no credit facilities or transport, the future looks bleak. Until the question of land has been solved the Arakmbut of San José will not have the peace of mind to give serious consideration to radical educational change. For most of the community, the school is the domain of the lay-missionary teacher and not a community problem at all (cf. p.123).

Nevertheless, the Arakmbut are not closed to what they would consider qualitative changes in the existing education system and changes which would not detract them from their main project of securing their territory. For more fundamental changes to be acceptable they would have to be framed within the context of a larger project for strengthening Arakmbut culture and society in order to increase their ability to defend their territory. Intercultural education for the Arakmbut people is part of a wider political struggle. Where it fits in with the priorities of the community and its struggle, and can be demonstrated to be advantageous for them, then it will be welcomed and adopted as one of several strategies to ensure their integrity as indigenous peoples.

This chapter has looked at different models of intercultural education which are being used for and by indigenous peoples in the Central and Northern Amazon. The SIL and CAAAP models of intercultural education are adaptations of the national model of formal education. Intercultural education ought to be, by its very definition, something distinct from both the national education system with its national curriculum, and 'informal' indigenous 'education'. PEBIAN and AIDESEP/ISPL are examples of new educational models based in the educational principles and practices of the indigenous culture but tailored to meet the needs of indigenous students, their indigenous community and its intercultural environment. As McTaggart states in the context of Australian indigenous education, it is not questions such as 'How do Aboriginal children learn mathematics?' that concern Aboriginal teachers, rather, 'How can Aboriginal communities work to help Aboriginal children learn mathematics without compromising their Aboriginality?' (1988).

It is the aboriginality of the indigenous peoples of the Peruvian

Amazon with which intercultural education is concerned. The Arakmbut of San José are uneasy about intercultural bilingual education because they consider it might destroy their 'aboriginality'. They want a school to help them combat the pressures they are under from the 'national' society by 'teaching Spanish'. Beyond this, they question the ability of the school, as an alien and implanted national institution to be of use to them[8]. The school and the national society couch the threat to the Arakmbut people and their culture purely in economic terms which denies the fundamental significance that their land has for them in terms of their cosmology, philosophy and identity. The school, in the forms which the people of San José know it is not only an inappropriate forum for strengthening their community, but incompatible with an Arakmbut view of the world and identity.

Footnotes

1. This programme among the Matsigenka was halted in 1993 because of lack of funding.

2. 'Holistic' is used here in the sense of inter-related, in the way that Arakmbut cultural practices and world view is inter-connected (as described in Chapter 6), and not a bounded, unchanging concept.

3. Stairs describes the situation among the Inuit of Canada where the teachers are chosen according to community criteria, not academic criteria and remain fully integrated in the community throughout their training (which is community based). Here the problem of the teacher's role was resolved from a Inuit perspective and a system introduced whereby teachers rotated between years of classroom work and years of home life as new mothers. Over time, 'outside' professionals have been able to step back and the Inuit have assumed the tasks of teacher-trainers and researchers themselves. As the indigenous peoples have gained experience and confidence the education system has become more culturally based (Stairs 1988).

4. In the Australian Aboriginal school of Punma Wangka, the community takes its involvement with the school one stage further and parents and adult members of the community move in and out of the classrooms sometimes freely participating, sometimes helping with teaching. Teachers from one class join in with the pupils in another. The non-indigenous teachers work in the Aboriginal controlled school according to Aboriginal cultural norms (Vallance 1988).

5. In North America and the Pacific there have been a number of studies which have looked at the ways in which indigenous teachers, often with less education and training than their non-indigenous counterparts, are creating alternative models of teaching and evaluation which are compatible with the values and social relations within their own culture. Lipka provides an example of an indigenous pedagogy that is built upon indigenous values such as group cohesiveness, co-operation and shared knowledge (1991). Flinn discusses the way in which indigenous values, standards and appropriate forms of behaviour are very influential for indigenous teachers' pedagogy at an unconscious level (Flinn 1992).

6. Au and Jordan (1981) worked with indigenous Hawaiian children who had low reading levels and found that the children did not recognise ordinary reading lessons as situations which called for a full range of cognitive and linguistic abilities. A new style of reading lesson based in the Hawaiian 'talk story' produced more effective classroom learning.

7. One of the students from Villa Santiago studying in Lima (see Chapter 7) provides a contrast to this. Throughout his university years he has begun to use what before was only a passive knowledge of the Arasaeri dialect of Harakmbut. The students' cultural revaluation project has given him the incentive to actively learn from his father (one of the two elders) at every opportunity.

8. Henze and Vanett emphasise the importance of indigenous communities taking control of the revitalisation of their own culture and language. In the context of the Yup'ik of Alaska, they question the ability of the school to mediate between traditional Yup'ik and Western culture (1993).

CHAPTER 10: INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN CONTROL OF THEIR OWN EDUCATION

The previous two chapters have illustrated how Peruvian intercultural bilingual education is predominantly a formal and literate model based on concepts of culture and curriculum from the national society. The most recent initiatives in intercultural education which have been directed and controlled by indigenous peoples themselves, such as the AIDESEP/ISPL project, are attempting to break out of this framework and base themselves first and foremost in indigenous cultural traditions and world views. As the previous chapter demonstrated, this has significance not just for 'content' and language policy but for all aspects of the curriculum including pedagogy and the concept of 'teacher'.

FENAMAD is faced with a considerable challenge in trying to design an intercultural bilingual programme for the Harakmbut peoples of Madre de Dios because of the cultural, historical and social heterogeneity of its constituent communities. The community of San José does not want intercultural bilingual education, yet it has the cultural strength and integrity necessary to develop an indigenous culture-base education. The community of Villa Santiago, on the contrary, does want intercultural bilingual education yet has lost much of its indigenous cultural traditions on which to base such a programme. In order to cope with the diverse situation of the Harakmbut people it is illuminating to look further afield at intercultural education programmes being developed by and with indigenous peoples in other parts of the globe. There we find indigenous peoples have produced a wide range of educational models and provide examples of a broader concept of intercultural bilingual education.

Models for Indigenous Controlled Intercultural Education

From around the world, indigenous education provides a range of models for intercultural education, which vary in terms of the degree of institutionalisation, the extent of indigenous control and the culture-base orientation of the curriculum. In Canada, where formal education is an accepted part of indigenous society today and formal educational qualifications are necessary for employment and job success, indigenous peoples have been concerned with improving the quality and relevance of schooling for their children. Some indigenous peoples have begun to do this by wresting control of schooling from the government and assuming administrative, financial and personnel control (cf. Barman et al. 1987). Others have found themselves in situations where their children are not growing up speaking their indigenous language and have made curriculum and language policy changes to redress this (cf. American Indian Studies Center 1979).

The Kahnawake Survival School is one of several 'survival schools' which sprang up throughout Canada in the late 1970s. The Mohawk people took control over their children's schooling in an attempt to counteract what they felt were the assimilationist policies and programmes of the state. Parents were concerned about their children's lack of ability to use the Mohawk language and decided that teaching it in school was an important way to consolidate it. Moreover they wanted their own viable alternative school which was based on native principles of co-operation, and Mohawk cultural sovereignty (Intercultural Horizons 1989). In terms of curriculum control and development, the school introduced Mohawk language instruction and history of the Mohawk people. Students were also divided into clan groups in each grade. The Director of Kahnawake Education Centre notes, however, that the schools suffer from the problem of how to transmit a Mohawk sense of identity (ibid).

The Mohawk example raises the question, consequently, of whether school is necessarily the best place for strengthening or reconstituting indigenous identity. While it may be best for some indigenous peoples, others may have other preferences. For example, the Cree, also in Canada, have taken a less formal approach to the education of their children. On the Joseph Bighead Reservation in Alberta, they have built a large, well equipped school where children are taught in their mother tongue with English as a second language. The major orientation of the curriculum is oral and reflects the emphasis of language and learning within Cree culture and society. The curriculum provides space for outdoor practical activities such as fishing, trapping and hunting. In the familiar context of these activities a wealth of information about attitudes and values are conveyed to the children. The school also has an open door policy for community members and a special informal teaching/learning area for Cree elders who form an important part of the teaching force and provide invaluable sources of oral knowledge. The latter are treated with great respect as teachers and repositories of cultural wealth (pers. comm. S. Venn 11.92).

Here the Cree have moulded the formal institution of the school to suit the more 'informal' character of their indigenous learning practices. By means of this more flexible approach to schooling they are able to provide an appropriate context (that is, hunting and trapping activities) for children to learn Cree values. In Arakmbut communities such as Barranco Chico (Type 2) where all children are indigenous language speakers, the uneasy balance is still maintained between the Arakmbut visible and invisible worlds and the indigenous authority structure still functions. These communities have a positive attitude towards the school but also the cultural resources to develop a flexible culture-sensitive model which is more reflective of the Cree

model than the Mohawk.

However, the Cree model would not suit communities such as Villa Santiago (Type 3) where the indigenous cultural resources are very eroded. The Mohawk situation is more reflective of Villa Santiago where there is concern among parents that their children are not speaking their indigenous language and they look to the school to teach this in a formal way. The Director of one of the Kahnawake primary schools was candid about the long task ahead for the school:

> We denied our own values and culture so we weren't really starting from our own base, our own rules or our beliefs. We're trying to get back the language, the culture, to get back our values. It's going to take another forty years (D. Lazore cited in Intercultural Horizons op. cit.:15).

It is with the Aboriginal peoples of Australia, however, that we find models which might suggest ways of accommodating the particular characteristics of San José and other Type 1 communities. Some of the Aboriginal peoples of Australia have certain characteristics in common with these Arakmbut peoples, such as being numerically small and living in relatively inaccessible areas.

The Punmu school (see also Footnote 4, Chapter 9) offers an example of a intercultural education which is firmly grounded in the indigenous culture. The school itself is incorporated into daily life and the community members define what school knowledge is. The Punmu people are very concerned that their school should not be a 'whitefella' school but a 'right way' desert people's school. They devised a system whereby the curriculum is based around daily life and concerns for the community, which are written up each day on a notice board (Folds 1988). The community is responsible for all conduct concerning the school and for teacher behaviour. This means that the community 'owns' the school and its problems and there is no break between appropriate school behaviour and appropriate community behaviour. The bough shelter school

and the curriculum are physically and culturally integrated into community life (Vallance 1988:72).

> Given that the people are secure in their identity as Aboriginal people and at one with their physical environment, based in their own country with their particular world view and history, the only thing to do was to bow to their superior knowledge and to incorporate formal schooling into daily life (ibid:76).

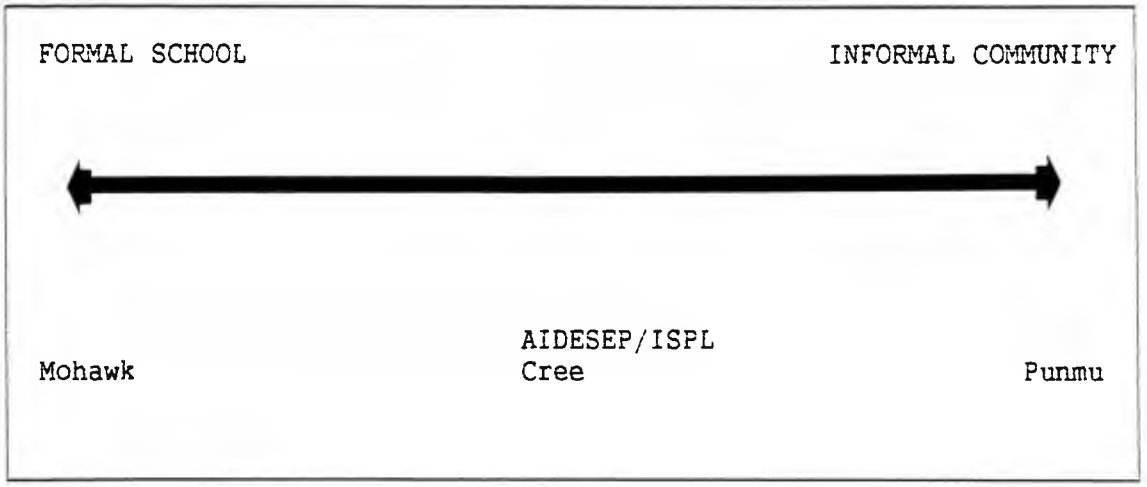


Figure 9: Degrees of Formality and Informality in Indigenous-Controlled Intercultural Education

The Punmu community is both very traditional and very isolated and does not suffer from the erosive effects of outside pressures to the same extent as San José. Figure 9 illustrates where these programmes stand on a continuum ranging from the formal institutional orientation of the Kahnawake programme to the informal community orientation of the Punmu programme.

Other Aboriginal communities, such as Yirrkala, which are concerned to provide their children with an education that will also equip them to cope with outside influences, have developed a 'two way' or 'both ways' schooling. These terms convey the idea that this schooling addresses the problems created by the coming together of two different cultures but it also encompasses the desire by the Yirrkala people to keep them distinct in order to preserve the integrity of the more vulnerable, that is, the indigenous culture.

Harris (1990) has detailed a theory of cultural domain-separation which developed out of different Aboriginal 'two-way' responses to bicultural and bilingual education (cf. Footnote 7, Chapter 5). His theory aims at a strict domain separation within the school itself: a 'western domain' and an 'Aboriginal domain'. The western domain would allow students to adapt to western school content and teaching processes. The Aboriginal domain would embody Aboriginal content and learning contexts, including old and new, dynamic, changing, overlapping Aboriginal culture, as parents and Aboriginal staff consider appropriate. The aims of this domain separation model for intercultural education echo those expressed in Peru for intercultural education: "Hopefully students would come to see themselves as Aboriginal people with bicultural skills; having a strengthening and primary Aboriginal identity, but competent and confident in two social worlds" (Harris 1992b:6). The school would be controlled by local indigenous people, administered in indigenous ways, and the western domain would be taught as a "giant role play" so that students could "become conscious of the difference between identifying with what is taught from the Western world and being confident in playing out the roles and applying skills and knowledge gained (ibid:7).

Table 17: Different Relations between Cultures in Intercultural Curricula

INTERCULTURAL CURRICULUM	
INTERFACE	TWO WAY
AIDESEP/ISPL	Yirrkala
Punmu	Harris' theoretical model
PEBIAN	Cree

Table 17 illustrates the different structural relationships which these models signify between the cultures in an intercultural

educational programme: they can be kept distinct in a 'two way' intercultural education, or the intercultural relations which form part of the daily life and society of the indigenous culture can become the focus of the curriculum -blended intercultural education. In both cases, however, the education is concerned with the way in which children recognise and reconcile the two (or more) different cultural influences on their lives.

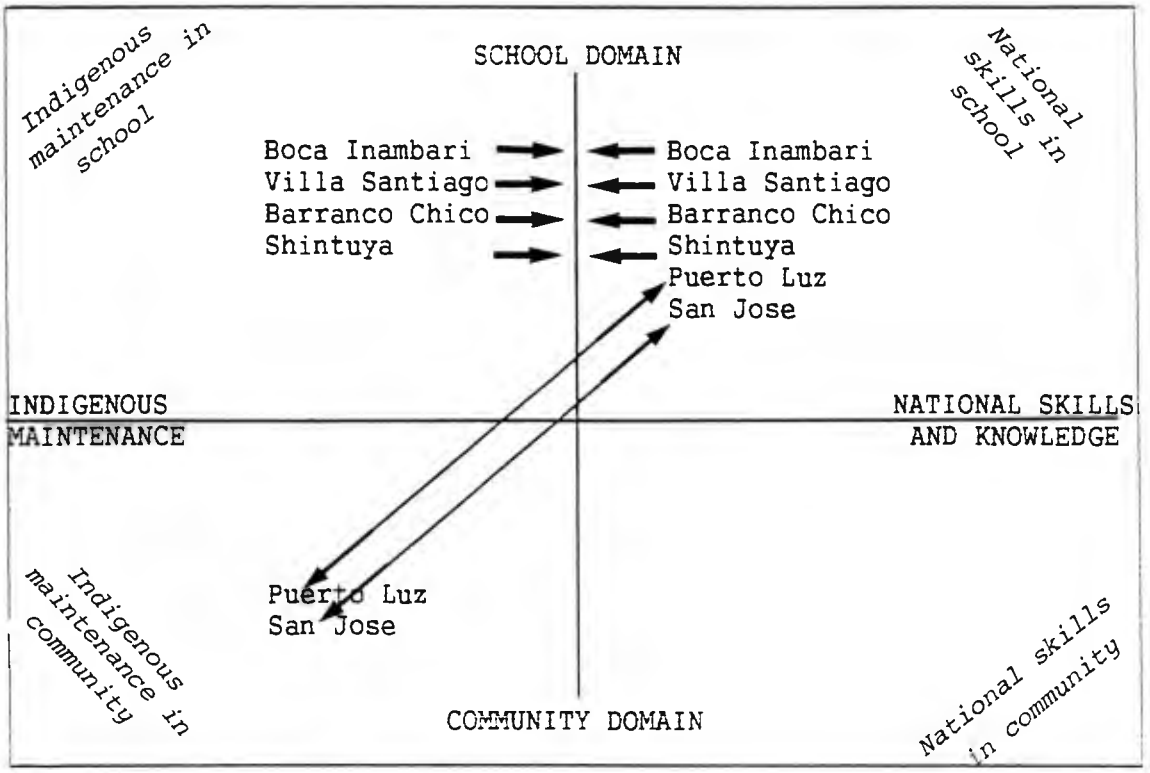


Figure 10: Models of Intercultural Education

In Chapter 5 we noted how the San José school and the community function on the principles of cultural domain separation. However, this is not a cultural domain separation policy within the school; the Arakmbut of San José separate the domain of the school and domain of the community. The children in San José receive, at present, an education in two separate domains, in two distinct cultures and languages with discrete personnel, aims and objectives. Looking at education in this

way, we can say that San José has been operating with a domain separation domain model of 'bilingual and bicultural' education for some forty years.

Figure 10 illustrates the different 'domains' which Harakmbut communities countenance at present. By taking the community rather than the school as the forum for education, we can see how San José's particular model fits alongside the others. Type 2 and Type 3 communities' aspirations are located within the domain of the school, but they have the choice of whether they are inclined towards a 'two way' approach or an 'interface'/'blended' approach within this domain. San José and other Type 1 communities, such as Puerto Luz, however, span both the school domain and the community domain and keep these two domains separate. However, this is not a model of binary oppositions between community and school domains, between indigenous knowledge and western knowledge within the school domain, or between Villa Santiago and San José. Instead these are flexible spectra across which communities can move as their situations change over time and as the indigenous peoples themselves control the direction of their dynamic intercultural education processes. With indigenous control over educational development and a move towards an indigenous culture base, the model for Harakmbut communities may come to look more like Figure 11.

Figure 11 illustrates the situation where the school is subsumed within the control and culture base of the community. There is still a spectrum between an interface approach (AIDESEP/ISPL model) or a 'two way' (Yirrkala and Harris approach) but these are determined by the indigenous community and not by, for example, missionaries or Mestizo civil servants at the Ministry of Education in Lima.

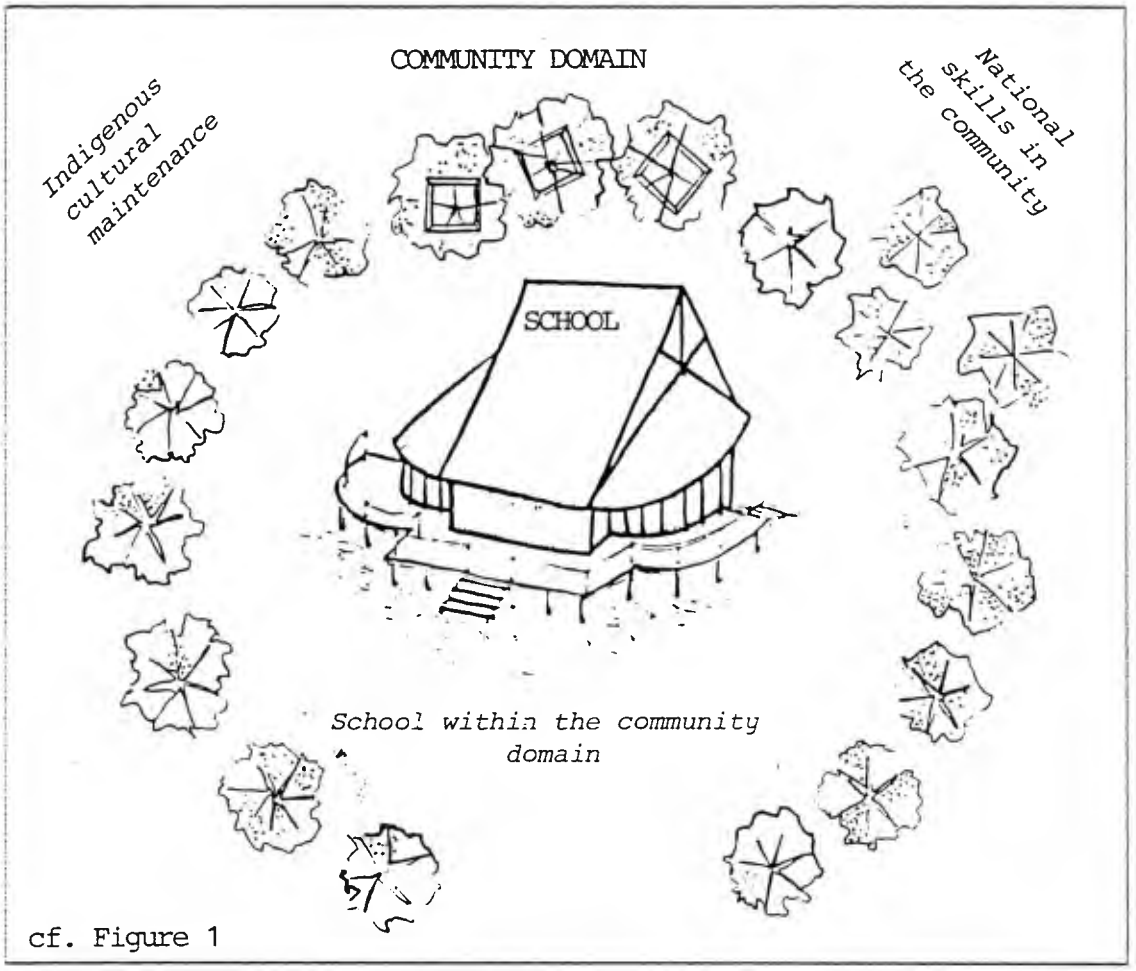


Figure 11: Indigenous Controlled Culture-Base Education for the Harakmbut

A Model for Educational Change in San José

There are three important considerations in terms of the continuation of the San José domain separation model. Firstly, the community has no control over the educational administration, policy making or curriculum in the school domain. Secondly, this schooled education is widely criticised by indigenous and non-indigenous organisations for its poor quality and irrelevance. Furthermore, there is no structured approach to dealing with intercultural relations in either domain. We have seen (cf. Chapter 4) how the school and the practices which take place there have the effect of undermining indigenous cultural traditions, with the goal of assimilating the Arakmbut into the national society. However, the school carries out

these aims inefficiently and neither effectively assimilates Arakmbut children nor prepares them to participate in the national society when they want to. Moreover, the Arakmbut domain does not address the intercultural relations within its educational paradigm and is unable to combat actively the pressures from the national society which are threatening the long term survival of the Arakmbut way of life (cf. Table 16, p.288).

The community of San José is wary of change introduced from outside. As Vallance states above, any outside programme of education development must bow to the superior knowledge of the indigenous people and listen to what they want and why. The community of San José and its members find themselves pulled in one direction by the Dominicans and representatives of the Diocese, including RESSOP, and in another direction by the indigenous Federation, FENAMAD. They are also torn between a deep-seated wariness of the Dominicans, because of their complex relations of dependence stretching back to the 1950s, and a wariness of FENAMAD because of both the sporadic contact they have with the Federation (mostly due to distance and lack of money to travel on both parts) and because of old inter-ethnic rivalries.

At the same time as trying to weigh up and reconcile these opposed loyalties, the community is under psychological attack, and sometimes also physical attack, from colonists and traders. Its attempts to remove the illegal colonists and halt the infringements of their territorial rights are obstructed by corruption and inefficiency in local, regional and central government as well as an obfusticating and unwieldy legal system. In this situation the Arakmbut of San José continue to try to defend their culture and their identity by keeping it out of sight and maintaining the protective 'wall' around it. Given the community's unwillingness to incorporate control of the school into a wider

political strategy to enhance their indigenous identity and indigenous 'survivability', an intercultural education project cannot proceed along the lines of any of the existing Peruvian models.

- Parameters for Educational Change: the School Domain

While the community does not want intercultural bilingual education as it is found in other parts of the Peruvian Amazon, this does not necessarily imply that the community will resist any attempts to change the formal education as it exists at present. On the contrary, members of San José have shown themselves to be open to considerable change in terms of improving the quality and relevance of this education, changes which may in the long term lead to a more 'empowering' education (see Table 1, Chapter 4).

For example, there is considerable curiosity throughout the community about books which contain photos of rainforest environments, birds and animals, and a huge interest in photos and illustrations of other indigenous rainforest peoples. The social science textbook 'Mi Tierra', which deals with general aspects of Ashaninka life and society (cf. p.271) was examined with a lot of interest, though no one paid any attention to the written Spanish text. For most people, adults and children alike, this was their first glimpse of a book which contained images familiar to them.

The response to text books such as Mi Tierra suggests that changes in terms of the subject matter of the curriculum would not meet any opposition as long as the academic success rate of the students was not jeopardised in terms of passing grades and continuing on to secondary school. However, any change in the school system which might produce less successful results, even though only temporarily, would be unacceptable. As Chapter 4 demonstrated, the community interprets the

'routinisation' of the school as the very hallmark of a primary school and any qualitative changes at present must respect this attitude or else run the risk of being rejected by the community. Nevertheless, it may be possible to capture the interest of the community and parents through a more relevant curriculum. Changes could also be made in terms of teaching methodology and student-teacher interaction which would lay the foundations for a more critical approach to the aims, objectives and knowledge which underpin the education.

In San José, while the RESSOP teachers have stated that they welcome new materials which would capture the interest of the students, their aims and objectives are firmly based in an integrationist ideology and a proselytising agenda. The lay-missionary teachers' openness to change may include changes in methodology, given adequate training and support, but it would clearly not include encouraging changes in the paradigmatic basis of their teaching and the curriculum.

The key to fundamental changes in formal education in San José, however, lies in native teachers. In the early 1990s, the mood in the community is not against the reintroduction of native teachers and several people said they would positively welcome such a move. Although they would not want this teacher to teach Harakmbut literacy, they believe that the youngest children should have a teacher who can communicate with them in their mother tongue. Therefore, there is positive support for the use of Harakmbut in the school as an auxiliary language. A native teacher can also offer qualitative changes in terms of helping a child adjust to school and its social conventions (cf. p.187), and in terms of pedagogical practices which are based in indigenous cultural practices (cf. p.281). Changes in formal education in terms of using oral Harakmbut with an Arakmbut teacher are not rejected by the community. The absence of written Harakmbut in the

school does not have to signify an absence of bilingual education (see Wölk, p.263).

But the reintroduction of indigenous teachers in the San José school is fraught with difficulties. First of all, there is no one in the community at present who wants to become a teacher, though there are currently two young men with the necessary qualifications. On the one hand, this situation is the result of a vicious circle of dropouts from secondary school (cf. Chapter 7) and, on the other hand, it reflects the extremely low salary of a teacher in this gold mining region where the cost of living is high.

But the problem is more complex. In terms of following a profession, teaching is considered very low status in Peru as a whole. Entrance to a teaching course is often a means of getting a foothold in higher education from which to make a sideways move to another discipline altogether. For example, one of the Arasaeri students from Villa Santiago studying in Lima, changed from education to law. It is possible, however, to take up a teaching post with no pedagogical training (just as the '1991 teachers' themselves did) and only a secondary education.

However, it is another issue which hinders the young men from seriously considering teaching. One talked of the problems which would face him if he took up teaching in the San José school. As a young unmarried wambokerek he would be teaching eligible muneyo. This might result in accusations from parents of molestation and improper behaviour because such a relationship would not be tolerated in the context of the community domain. His clan affiliation would put him in a difficult position vis-à-vis parents of children from other clans who might accuse him of favouritism in awarding monthly exam marks. Moreover, he did not feel that he would have the support of his community, a support which

would be vital if he was to be a successful teacher and even more so if he was to make qualitative changes in the formal system. A female teacher would be able to avoid some of these specific problems but at present there are no female candidates, though this situation may change over the coming years.

Within the school domain and within the parameters of the community's desires for schooling, there is considerable potential for qualitative change. However, to transform this passive support for qualitative change and galvanise the community into initiating change, it is to the community domain that we must look.

- Possibilities for Cultural Enrichment: the Community Domain

There are already fortifying processes at work in the community domain and considerable support and enthusiasm for the 'cultural regeneration' project being carried out by the university students (cf. p.255). This project is acting as an impetus for learning in the Arakmbut domain and has given the elders more confidence in the sincerity of the youths. The students' aim of tape recording myths and songs has had the effect of encouraging competition among older wambokerek and prompting them to search their repertoire for songs that have not been sung or stories that have not been told for many years. Rather than learn surreptitiously in the gloom of a hut, some of the young wambokerek have been seeking out their elder mentors on moonlit evenings and un-selfconsciously listening and beginning to learn the specialised linguistic registers of the chindigns.

Given this situation, qualitative educational change might be more positively initiated in the community domain than through the school domain. However, the community needs to change and move at its own pace and not one controlled from outside, from above. The positive response

to the students' project, which has already produced an incipient blossoming of Arakmbut oral culture, could be built upon to develop a larger and more community-wide project for indigenous cultural strengthening which would encourage a new sense of pride and self-esteem.

The Ashaninka of the Atalaya region in the Central Amazon have produced suggestions for a 'culture house' which would be a focus for indigenous culture and language and a place where they could foster indigenous learning and participation in indigenous cultural events. The Ashaninka stress that the 'culture house' is not a school and will be quite independent of the school. Instead it is a place which belongs to the community and the people and an Ashaninka centre for learning where the elders can pass on their knowledge to the younger generation.

One possible way of harnessing the positive and enthusiastic response of the Arakmbut to the students' cultural regeneration project could be through the establishment of a 'culture house' in San José, an initiative which the community supports strongly. There is already a growing need for a physical focal point in the community for storing, listening to and viewing the tape recordings, video tapes and books being accumulated by the students. A centre could also serve as an archive for official community papers. As a community 'centre', the house would not belong to any one clan or family group and consequently not inhibit members of other clans and families from going there, but would be a place away from intrusions from teachers or wahaipis.

The Arakmbut do not often meet as a community. Instead they use 'informal' means of discussing issues and spreading news. The evenings are an important time for men to walk around the huts talking and chatting with their neighbours and their kin. Women come together in the morning or late afternoon to make wenpus (cf. p.180) and talk together

in small kin and affine groups. These occasions, as well as parties, are times for making suggestions, listening to other points of view and hearing about other peoples experiences. How to deal with a particularly troublesome colonists will be brought up in a conversation, dropped and returned to several times in an apparently casual manner but slowly over time a consensus is built up between members of the community and solutions and actions decided upon. A 'culture centre' would not replace these fora and processes but be an additional forum for encouraging discussion and decision-making in a distinctly Arakmbut way.

In the Arakmbut community of Boca Inambari, enthused by the students' cultural regeneration project, the elders are discussing ways of working together to build a maloca (the traditional Harakmbut communal house). A maloca would be an ideal 'culture centre' built with a huge leaf thatch roof in 'materiales rusticos' in contrast to the school built from 'materiales nobles' (cf. Chapter 3). This maloca would not house families around the inner perimeter as in pre-Shintuya days, but would assume a former role as a meeting place and a focal point where elders and senior wambokerek, could tell stories, myths, sing and dance.

With a 'culture centre', be it a maloca or not, the community would have its own physical domain for hosting visitors and holding meetings. This would lift intercultural issues out of the domain of the school and the control of the non-indigenous school teachers and into the community domain where the influence of the lay-missionaries is severely limited. Moreover, an Arakmbut 'culture centre' could host a programme of non-formal education designed by and with the community to give it the confidence it needs to begin to deal with the problems it faces and its prime concern for territorial defense. The centre could become a focus for workshops concerning, for example, indigenous rights;

increasing garden cultivation and self-sufficiency in crops such as beans and dry rice; about local government and how it works.

Thus, a culture centre would have the potential to not only help the Arakmbut find ways to defend their territory, their identity and their way of life but also provide the potential for community desire for an indigenous controlled education in both domains. As the Arakmbut of San José confront their problems and consider ways of overcoming them, and as their self-confidence in dealing with the national society increases they may come to see an importance in controlling and improving formal schooling so that it complements the activities of the Arakmbut domain and perhaps becomes more incorporated into it. The way this process may develop is for the Arakmbut to determine according to their perception of the most culturally appropriate means of educating their children in an intercultural society.

At present the university and secondary school students are in a strong position to influence this development. Through their formal education they have acquired the ability to look at their community from outside and appreciate the gravity of the pressures upon it not just from territorial invasion but in terms of the integrity of the Arakmbut world view. From this position they are already searching for ways in which their community can combat these ethnocidal pressures. The students have also witnessed other Amazonian indigenous peoples using intercultural education to aid their struggle.

However, it is not possible to predict the way in which an indigenous controlled intercultural education for San José will be defined. The older generations in San José feel that their Arakmbut domain is secure in the oral cultural traditions and in its 'informal' educational processes. Nevertheless, the students seem to be doubting their ability to learn (and remember) the oral cultural tradition solely

through the 'informal' processes of the Arakmbut domain. If this insecurity is not assuaged through the initiatives of the cultural regeneration programme, they may look for support to the 'formal' processes of the school with its predominantly literate practices, with which they are extremely familiar. In such a situation, San José may choose to follow a two domain model or a blended model of intercultural education based in the school with an Arakmbut teacher. But with the powerful combination of highly educated university students committed to the indigenous movement, together with the solidity of the older generations in their Arakmbut knowledge and wisdom, they may forge their own distinctive model. This model will have the potential to break away from a blended/interface dichotomy, demolish the metaphorical wall and build a new relationship between the community and the school and their respective cultural and linguistic traditions.

Questioning Assumptions about Indigenous Peoples and Intercultural Education

The Arakmbut of San José want to maintain their way of life and their collective identity as well as to take part in the national society on their own terms. To do this they need certain competencies to allow them not only to protect their society from potentially erosive and destructive influences from the wider, national society but also to enter into it and benefit as its citizens. These desires are echoed by indigenous peoples throughout the Amazon and expressed formally in declarations of indigenous rights at the national and international levels.

Indigenous peoples in different parts of the Amazon have looked to formal education as a means of helping them achieve these aims. For the Arakmbut, the formal education to which they have access is monolingual

and monocultural in the national language and culture. The members of the community of San José have, through experience, come to view this formal education as a two-edged sword: in theory it aims to provide skills and competencies for coping with the national society yet at the same time the method by which this is attempted has potentially ethnocidal effects for their indigenous way of life.

Because of the ambiguous influence of formal education, the Arakmbut of San José have circumscribed the school and the work of the missionary teachers to the extent that we can identify two 'domains' within the village: that of the school and that of the community (cf. Chapter 5). In terms of language and cultural orientation, the domains are kept quite distinct. Nevertheless, from a sociological perspective the members of San José move between these domains with differing degrees of ease. While all Arakmbut are highly competent within the community domain, there is a wide spectrum of abilities within the school domain. Those with most formal education are more competent at handling the school domain and relating to the teachers than those with little or no schooling.

Since their first sustained contact with the national society in the 1950s, the Arakmbut have tried to restrict manifestations of their culture to the Arakmbut domain because of a strong sense of e'mbire (shyness, embarrassment cf. p. 226) about their cultural traditions (such as rituals, curing, etc.) vis-à-vis the national society and its institutions (such as the school). This sense of 'e'mbire' has protected their cultural practices, including their language, against ridicule and debasement from the broader society. However, as incursions of colonists and representatives of the national society grow, the physical space which the Arakmbut domain inhabits (the community and its territory) is itself surrounded and invaded, threatening the integrity of the Arakmbut

domain. Practices which hitherto have been carried out in the seclusion of the village, as well as hunting, fishing and gathering activities throughout their territory, are curtailed. These are practices and activities which form the foundations of the Arakmbut way of life and are crucial for maintaining the delicate relationship between the visible and the invisible worlds (cf. Chapter 6).

To combat similar erosional processes in other parts of the Amazon, many indigenous peoples are turning to intercultural bilingual education as a mode of education which can be tailored to indigenous needs and based on an analysis of indigenous peoples' specific situation in relation to the national society. However, for the community of San José, intercultural bilingual education is a contradiction in terms because of the close identification of school with the Spanish language and the majority national society, and as a place where indigenous language, beliefs and practices are denigrated.

This thesis has been concerned with understanding why the community of San José has not welcomed proposals for intercultural bilingual education by analysing the community's attitudes, expectations and understanding of formal education. It has illustrated the way in which formal education does not conceptually encompass, and consequently does not deal with, the education which is indigenous to the community, and how this Arakmbut indigenous education defies categorisation according to formal educational criteria. Intercultural bilingual education aims to address this gulf between the formal system and the indigenous system by focusing on the 'intercultural' nature of the lives of indigenous peoples today. Nevertheless, most intercultural bilingual education programmes continue to emphasise characteristics of the formal education system and are oriented towards non-indigenous social and cultural practices. For indigenous peoples, who quite clearly separate

the formal school from indigenous education, this produces a confusion of categories and concepts.

In Peru, intercultural bilingual education is defined as an education based in the "indigenous child's maternal culture" (cf. p.268). Nevertheless, in practice, the vast majority of intercultural bilingual education programmes are based on assumptions derived from the formal system. The detailed examination of the educational situation in San José has called into question several assumptions about intercultural bilingual education:

1. Mother-tongue Literacy

> Within Peru today, intercultural bilingual education is assumed to be based on and around teaching indigenous children to read and write in their indigenous mother tongue.

The Peruvian model, given official status through DIGEBIL (cf. Chapter 9), is concerned with equality of education for indigenous children, that is equal access to school and equal opportunity in a school system which has a strong emphasis on writing and reading, by providing for these processes to be carried out in the mother tongue. At the same time the indigenous movement is campaigning for mother tongue education and literacy as a right for indigenous children (cf. p.37) as well as a means of helping them preserve their language through the written form. In cases where the mother tongue has hitherto been an oral language, new orthographies and alphabets are designed and used in the production of school literacy texts so that the school and curriculum can proceed in the indigenous language with Spanish taught by means of a second language methodology.

However, it cannot be assumed that all indigenous peoples interpret mother-tongue literacy as a move towards greater equality within the national society or an empowering of the indigenous language.

The Arakmbut of San José clearly do not. Their situation highlights the intrinsic inequality that exists between the national language, which has a long literate tradition, and the oral indigenous language which, through the very production and existence of a written form, may lose fundamental dimensions of its long oral tradition. For example, the existence of a written form of the language may have repercussions throughout the indigenous society because of a new democratic access to knowledge by means of the written word and texts which invalidate the traditional power base and control of knowledge in the society. Where specific individuals, or 'gatekeepers', have control of knowledge through their ability to communicate with the source of that knowledge (for example, spirits or ancestors), written texts may ultimately challenge the epistemological basis of knowledge (see Chapter 8).

Education and literacy in the mother tongue can be interpreted as obstacle to indigenous peoples' equal opportunity to acquire literacy skills in the national language. It may therefore disempower them in terms of defending their cultural traditions and society through mechanisms within the nation society and hinder them from participating in this broader society on their own terms. In small and threatened societies this position may be compounded by a lack of perceived use for a written form of the indigenous language which, moreover, they do not believe will serve them against outside pressures (cf. p.250). Nevertheless, other fragile societies may find bilingual education and mother tongue literacy a strength and means of revaluing their language which is in danger of being superseded and ousted (for example, the Arasaeri community of Villa Santiago). Different communities and indigenous peoples cannot be assumed <u>a priori</u> to react similarly, and necessarily positively, to intercultural bilingual education. However, as the broad contextual framework of the San José case illustrates, the

rejection of intercultural bilingual education certainly does not imply a desire to integrate into the wider society but must be understood in terms of Arakmbut socio-historical and cultural practices.

2. Intercultural Bilingual Education Structured around the School

> Many indigenous peoples have no tradition of an institutionalised education system and to assume that intercultural bilingual education must be school based is to negate the diffused nature of an indigenous child's own familiar social practices.

In Peru, the DIGEBIL model of intercultural bilingual education is organised around the formal institution of the school (cf. p.228). It is designed so that a bilingually trained teacher can teach from a curriculum which is generalised from one ethnic group to another and follows a uniform calendar and timetable. In all these aspects intercultural bilingual education adheres to the formal system in contrast to indigenous educational practices which are characterised by the absence of these features. It is the very lack of formalisation and lack of specialised office of 'teacher' and 'pupil' (cf. Chapter 6), that makes indigenous education more fluid and flexible than the formal system. In the case of the Arakmbut, these characteristics have resulted in non-indigenous peoples' ignorance of indigenous educational processes and indigenous peoples' depreciation of their own educational traditions and their validity.

If intercultural bilingual education is to be based in a child's indigenous culture, it cannot be built around the national education system. Instead, an indigenous culture-base intercultural bilingual education must be founded in the indigenous educational practices of each ethnic group and take into account indigenous language, pedagogy and knowledge and its oral and experiential nature. The San José study warns against using a schooled and literate model of intercultural bilingual education as a starting point because this ignores and negates

the indigenous education system. Here a more flexible and sensitive model of intercultural bilingual education is needed in order to recognise and respect the education in two languages and two cultural systems which has been in existence in this community for more than two decades, but which does not converge into one school-based system (cf. p.307). A more flexible model may also provide the incentive for the development of a need and use for a written form of the mother tongue within the society as a whole and not just within the school. Once such a need is perceived by the community, intercultural bilingual education can emerge at the community's own pace.

3. The Cultural Basis of the Intercultural Bilingual Curriculum

> The design and implementation of intercultural bilingual education as well as its acceptance by indigenous peoples, cannot be based on a haphazard use of indigenous 'cultural traits' within an otherwise national curriculum with a bilingual language policy.

The examination of different models of intercultural bilingual education in the Peruvian Amazon has highlighted two different approaches to curriculum development: that of adapting the national curriculum so that it reflects some of the characteristics of the indigenous society (a 'folkloric' model); and that of trying to produce a new curriculum which takes into account both cultural traditions and uses these to achieve an education which satisfies the needs of indigenous peoples (see Chapter 9).

Some recent initiatives towards the development of a theory of intercultural education among and by indigenous peoples in different parts of the world have challenged the static conception of curriculum as 'content' (for example in Canada, Australia and Peru, see Chapter 9). These illustrate how an intercultural bilingual education aimed at strengthening indigenous language and culture must take full account of

the cultural context within which the indigenous language is used, the characteristics of indigenous discourse as well as the indigenous pedagogy. Such an intercultural curriculum must be based on a thorough analysis of the distinct cultural traditions, practices, philosophies and epistemologies of the distinct ethnolinguistic groups.

The nature of the intercultural curriculum rests, moreover, on issues which go beyond the pedagogical (such as the benefits for second language learning with initial mother tongue teaching) or the concern for the continuation of basket-making techniques. It concerns the specific historical, social and political relations which exist between each indigenous group and the broader society and which affects the manner in which the different cultural traditions interrelate within the intercultural bilingual education programme (cf. pp.301-6).

An uncritical use of concepts, categories and structures from the formal system may produce an intercultural bilingual education which acts as a 'bridge' for the widespread adoption of western formal schooling within indigenous societies at the expense of indigenous educational forms and processes, rather than for their maintenance and strengthening.

4. The Aims and Goals of Intercultural Education

> Intercultural bilingual education cannot assume that the aims and goals of formal education (schooling) and indigenous education are the same.

The San José study has highlighted the error of assuming that indigenous aims and goals for education map those of the national system. The formal system in general promotes values of individual effort and achievement within a framework where one pupil competes against another and his/her progress through the highly structured grade system defines 'success' or 'failure'. The formal education system is part of a

paradigm based on a lineal developmental notion of time and 'progress'.

In contrast to this, many indigenous peoples do not share these conceptual approaches to time and learning. The aims of learning and 'education' are oriented to the wellbeing and maintenance of the collectivity, rather than purely the individual. This alternative paradigm also pervades Arakmbut experience of formal education as the students of ADEIMAD illustrate (cf. Chapter 7): schooled learning (e'mandoya) is only recognised when the schooled individual puts this learning at the service of the group. Moreover, the education acquired through the formal system is only one kind of education and one aspect of the total learning experience necessary to produce an upright Arakmbut adult.

Any intercultural bilingual education programme must scrutinise its aims in order to avoid imposing values from the dominant society which, combined with the erosive influences from the surrounding majority society, may in a short space of time destroy the collective organisation and orientation of the indigenous way of life. Consequently, intercultural bilingual education must begin by analysing the paradigmatic framework from which educational aims are derived and which in turn derive from different world views.

5. Analysing World Views

> Non-indigenous educational professionals have assumed that indigenous peoples' 'world view' can be analysed in terms of 'cultural universals' in order to design programmes and curricula with wide applicability.

Some of the recent developments in intercultural bilingual education in the Peruvian Amazon, and in some other parts of the indigenous world, have made strenuous efforts to base the programmes in indigenous views of the world encompassing indigenous aims and objectives for education (cf. Chapter 9). These programmes have reinforced the need for a careful

analysis of the basic concepts underlying any intercultural bilingual education programme in order to avoid an ethnocentrism that acts to the disadvantage of the indigenous society and its cultural traditions.

Any education programme that purports to be intercultural or bicultural must begin by defining the concept 'culture' and how it is used in the design of a curriculum. This study of different intercultural bilingual education programmes has illustrated how different definitions can produce very different programmes (for example the difference between the DIGEBIL and AIDESEP/ISPL programmes discussed in Chapter 9). In terms of analysing the different cultural groups represented in intercultural education, for the purposes of designing a curriculum, Lawton approaches his analysis of culture in terms of 'universal systems' and assumes that all indigenous peoples perceive the world according to the same analytical systems (cf. p.278). The San José study, however, has demonstrated that this is not so. To try to divide Arakmbut knowledge and world view into discrete systems (such as an 'economic system' and 'belief system') is to deconstruct it in a way that would render it meaningless to the Arakmbut themselves and divide what to them is indivisible.

The San José study has also illustrated the way in which different individuals within the community of San José perceive their world in different ways, through a myriad of perspectives depending on their particular position within Arakmbut society at a particular time (for example a Yaromba muneyo will perceive her 'world' differently from an Idnsikambo wambokerek, cf. p.141). The Arakmbut world view is multidimensional and dynamic rather than static and definitive, in the same way that the Arakmbut notion of culture is as much as dynamic and flexible process as it is a category (cf. p.170). An intercultural curriculum must reflect these characteristics in its own flexibility and

dynamism.

The informality of indigenous education exemplified by the San José Arakmbut defies categorisation in even the loosest and most flexible uses of the term 'curriculum'. The 'curriculum' for Arakmbut children is their daily life which is organised through Arakmbut culturally specific concepts of age, gender, clan, kinship, (and influence one's view of the world). This produces a very different ordering of knowledge, a different concept of pedagogy and a different relationship between learning, teaching and evaluation.

For an intercultural education programme to adopt these characteristics and help satisfy the demands of indigenous peoples for the strengthening of indigenous identity, it must be based in a dynamic and flexible understanding of indigenous world views which only indigenous peoples themselves can determine.

6. Educational Specialists

> Intercultural education must question the assumption that specialists from the formal system are the only specialists relevant and competent to develop and implement intercultural bilingual education.

One of the major stumbling blocks to achieving an intercultural bilingual education which is based in the indigenous culture is the assumption that educational specialists from the formal educational system are best qualified to determine an intercultural education programme. Such an approach negates the specialist educational knowledge and skills which the members of the indigenous society hold. They are the 'experts' or 'specialists' in their indigenous view of the world and the processes by which this is and has been passed down the generations over centuries. The elders comprise the repositories of indigenous knowledge and hold the key to the indigenous knowledge base. In the community of San José we saw that it was the elders (watone) who had

access to the source of Arakmbut knowledge which came from the invisible world but it was the senior adults (wambokerek and wetone) who were able to use that knowledge (cf. p.144).

Furthermore, it is the indigenous peoples themselves who have expert understanding and experience of the intercultural nature of their lives and its implications for the future of their indigenous society. They live their lives with, in many cases, increasingly complex and conflicting influences from the dominating and overpowering non-indigenous society.

The denial of indigenous expertise is one of the reasons why many intercultural education programmes have met with resistance from the indigenous people 'on whose behalf' the non-indigenous 'experts' and professionals have produced an intercultural bilingual programme. The Arakmbut of San José provide a vivid example of a people who have very clear cut motives for rejecting an intercultural bilingual education which is designed for them without their co-operation, participation or even their awareness. Moreover, it is an education which ignores the existence of their own indigenous practices which have ensured the survival and vivacity of their culture and language since its contact with the wider society in the 1950s.

Intercultural bilingual education has much to offer indigenous peoples in terms of achieving a more equal relationship between the indigenous society and the 'national' society, as well as strengthening indigenous cultural identity. However, in order to ensure that intercultural bilingual education works to satisfy these aims it must also ensure that the indigenous peoples themselves determine the concepts on which the education programme is based and that they themselves design and control a model which they believe suits their needs as indigenous peoples living intercultural lives. The Arakmbut of

San José are an example of a people who want to strengthen their own way of life and sense of cultural identity, yet desire to live harmoniously within the nation state. In finding a way of combining these objectives without losing their cultural integrity the Arakmbut are faced with a dilemma.

On the one hand, the indigenous culture base and its world view is in need of strengthening in order to withstand the erosive influences from the 'outside' national society. For some of the young adult generation in San José, influences from 'outside' are interfering with their freedom and ability to learn in the Arakmbut domain, and knowledge based in the Arakmbut oral tradition is not easily accessible to them (cf. p.227). To overcome this problem they have looked to see in what way their learning from the school domain can assist them and have found what they consider to be a solution through tape recordings and the written word (cf. p.248). While tape recordings have the potential to reinforce the oral tradition, the written form has the potential to record a cultural tradition which, despite the tapes, may die with the present generation of elders. Conversely, though the oral tradition survives to be passed on to a new generation of senior men and elders, the widespread acceptance of a written form may endanger the integrity of the oral heritage and change it so that the Arakmbut epistemological basis of knowledge in the invisible world is destroyed.

As long as the Arakmbut of San José still have a living oral tradition and knowledge base, they need to be able to use current developments in indigenous education in order to design a programme for themselves which reinforces their own two-domain educational model and combats the hegemony of the written word and literate practices over their oral tradition. One way to do this is to give due status and recognition to indigenous Arakmbut educational practices, while at the

same time ensuring that a school-based education empowers them to work within and through state institutions to secure and safeguard their communal territory and way of life.

This study has shown that education is a highly appropriate and illuminative direction for investigating the relationship between the Arakmbut and the wider Peruvian society because it is the only area where they are faced with the permanent physical presence of the school as a Peruvian institution and the teachers as representatives of the Church. Through a system which separates the domain of the community and the domain of the school, the Arakmbut are trying to control the influence of the outside world on their social and cultural life. The risk of destroying their world view and way of life makes them reject a model of intercultural bilingual education which threatens to open up the relatively discrete categorisation of internal and external worlds. This may be a manifestation of a flexible duality embedded in their conceptualisation of Arakmbut and non-Arakmbut but, alternatively, it may be a feature of their defence against colonisation. In the future the boundaries between domains may become less well defined as more members of the community acquire secondary and higher education and show an interest in the running of the school. However, intercultural education will only be acceptable to the Arakmbut if it encompasses both the school and the community.

APPENDIX A

Intercultural and Bilingual Education Projects in Peru

- Andean Bilingual Projects

The projects initiated in the Andean region in the 1960s and early 1970s were conceived at a time of optimism for education in Peru. They were developed out of concern for low levels of educational achievement and the huge discrimination against the indigenous languages and cultures, Aymara and Quechua.

The Quinua project was initiated in the exhilarating climate of the Education Reform of 1972 and the officialisation of Quechua. Its main focus was on mother-tongue literacy and teaching Spanish as a second language. It also gave oral Quechua and Spanish an importance and priority in the learning process they had previously lacked. However, the project was eventually abandoned because of the strength of parental opposition to mother-tongue teaching and an overwhelming demand for Spanish, the language which the indigenous people felt gave them a possibility for social mobility.

In the latter part of the 1970s the University of San Marcos, Lima, set up another project in the Ayacucho region together with the Centre for Linguistic Studies (CILA). Again, the oral language was given much importance, though this time Spanish and Quechua were taught simultaneously because of parental demand for Spanish. The project designers attempted to introduce teachers to the concept of intercultural bilingual education through seminars and relate bilingual education to the wider context of the Quechua community (see Citarella 1990b; Zuñiga 1989b).

The Puno Project (PEEB/P) aimed to use Quechua and Aymara throughout primary and eventually into secondary school while Spanish was taught as a second language. The project was financed by the German Association for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) and carried out by the Departmental Directorate for Education of Puno. It couched the concept of intercultural bilingual education in terms of putting the learner, his beliefs, values and customs, his socio-economic and cultural situation at the centre of the education process (Lopez, cited in Citarella 1990b:102).

The project opted to follow the national curriculum and set itself the very ambitious target of take-up in some 400 schools in four years, a goal it was unable to achieve. However, it has had important lasting effects for intercultural bilingual education such as a wide range of teaching materials in Quechua, publications on language policy and implementation (Jung and Lopez 1988), its innovatory attempts to produce materials sensitive to indigenous perspectives on history and the social sciences (Valiente 1988) and the natural sciences (Dietschy-Scheiterle 1987). Despite the resistance this project met from parents wanting more Spanish for their children, it improved the status of Quechua and Aymara at official levels as well in the indigenous organisations (Villavicencio 1987; Lopez et al. 1987; Lopez and Moya 1989). There is a vast literature concerned with this project including some frank discussions of its weaknesses and problems by Lopez, Yung and Palao (1987).

- Amazon Bilingual and Intercultural Projects

One of the earliest examples of intercultural education in the Amazon is the Programme for Intercultural Bilingual Education in the Alto Napo River (abbreviated to PEBIAN) which was initiated in the mid-1970s. It was set up in order to provide an alternative to an education system which was not fulfilling the demands of the 1972 Education Reform. On the contrary, the numerically small Napuruna and Siecoya peoples in the Northern Amazon were being taught by monolingual Mestizo teachers whose aim was to eradicate the mother tongue (see Fernandez and Vera 1987; Trapnell 1986; San Roman 1984, Citarella 1990b). In response to this situation, Juan Mercier, Catholic missionary and anthropologist, obtained permission from the education authorities to begin an intercultural bilingual project. It is by design a Freire-inspired programme for the liberation and consciencisation of the population whose identity was being negated and subordinated by the surrounding society and through the school. Consequently, this project aims at cultural and linguistic maintenance and indigenous empowerment. The PEBIAN team works closely with the community, listening to its desires and preferences for the project and gradually effecting a transfer of the whole project to the community itself (see San Roman ibid.).

Another project with a maintenance focus is the Bicultural and Bilingual Experimental Education Project for the Ashaninka of the River Tambo run by the Amazon Centre for Anthropology and Applied Practice (CAAAP). This programme was set up to fortify and support the teachers in the River Tambo area where one-teacher schools are isolated from each other and the level of training is very low. It was based in a strong desire to foster a positive value for the Ashaninka culture and society in the face of total neglect by the education authorities. It covered 23 schools and worked with teachers providing training, supervision and support, as well as holding short courses on issues such as 'the problem of multilingualism and of Spanish as the official language'. In 1987 the project was discontinued because of the activities of Sendero Luminoso in the area (see Heise 1984, 1987, 1990).

At the beginning of the 1980s, SIL decided to establish and run a National Bilingual Teacher Training College which would assume responsibility for training all bilingual primary teachers in the Amazon (Trapnell 1986). In 1983 the Ministry of Education approved a radically revised version of the proposal in the form of an Experimental Programme for the training of bilingual teachers by SIL and the formation of a new teacher training institution, the Instituto Superior Pedagógico Bilingüe in Yarinacocha (ISPB-Y). The ISPB-Y opened its gates to the first indigenous teacher trainees in 1985. The curricula of both the basic teacher training course and the professionalisation course are similar to those found on any regular (Spanish language) teacher training course but with some modifications such as the inclusion of Spanish as a second language (Trapnell ibid.).

The Association for the Development of the Peruvian Rainforest (AIDESEP) and the Instituto Superior Pedagógico de Loreto (ISPL) programme for training indigenous teachers in intercultural bilingual education (henceforth referred to as the AIDESEP/ISPL programme) was initiated in 1988 by indigenous and non-indigenous professionals. It was established to respond to a need for an alternative model of teacher training and primary education to those of SIL and CAAAP. Unlike the situation in the Alto Napo and the PEBIAN programme, many of the indigenous peoples working in the AIDESEP/ISPL project, such as Aguaruna and Shipibo, have

had a long experience of bilingual education in SIL-run schools and have assumed control of the SIL project. AIDESEP/ISPL is working with 12 different indigenous federations and its first teachers graduated in 1993. In establishing this project and the guidelines for a new teacher training curriculum, AIDESEP reflected the dissatisfaction of many indigenous peoples with the 'folkloric' representation of their culture and language in the formal school system which they believe does not contribute towards its strengthening or maintenance as something creative and meaningful (cf. Trapnell 1986, 1990 and 1991).

The early years of this six-year course interweave blocks of in-college studies with trainees' own anthropological, linguistic and educational research in a community of the same ethnic group. This is to enable them to form a deeper understanding of the society, distinguish it from other societies and elucidate the changes which it has undergone and the determinants of these changes. This research comprises, for example, looking at indigenous conceptual frameworks for agricultural practices, looking at stages of child development for indigenous children, and developing a grammar which suits the needs and desires of the community which will use it. The trainees work with elders and leaders, learning from members of the community and developing an understanding of the kind of alternative education the communities want for their children (Trapnell 1990). In the later years of the course, the indigenous trainees work together with the programme's anthropologists, linguists and educational experts to design a primary curriculum for their own indigenous group (Gasché et al. 1987).

APPENDIX B

List of major publications by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in the Harakmbut Language

The following are published by the Ministry of Education with the collaboration of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

'Teaching Series in the Amarakaeri Language' Ministry of Education Programme for Bilingual Education in the Rainforest.

1st edition 1973, 2nd edition, 1983.

No. 1 Out of Print

No. 2 Out of Print

No. 3 Jo, El Pifayo

No. 4 Huaksik, La Gamitana

No. 5 Mokas, El Sajino

New Series

No. 6 Bakoyba', Libro de Pajaros with Abram Rodríguez, S. 1st Edition 1983.

No. 7 Kutajmenpo, Bola de Algodón 1984.

No. 8 Africa Huadaribayo Huae'eri Ojpai', Animales de Africa 1985.

No. 9 Daknopo'da A'ikaya'po, Nuestra Salud 1985.

Jenesis 1,2,3 Editorial Sagradas Escrituras Para Todos, S.A. 1974.

Apagba' Jesucristo Oy Oa'pak, El Nuevo Testamento de nuestro Señor Jesucristo en el idioma amarakaeri Liga Biblica Mundial de Hogar, First Edition 1986.

Apagba'tone Historias del Antiguo Testamento Version en Amarakaeri La Liga Biblica Escrituras para todos, South Holland USA, Peru 1991.

APPENDIX C

A Day in the Life of the San Jose Primary School

The following information was collected on two different days (31.10.91 and 12.11.91) one day spent in each classroom.

The day began for the children of San Jose at dawn when they rose in the first grey light and went to the river to help their mothers collect water and wash pots for the breakfast meal. The teachers, in their 'noble' house situated to one side of the main circle of huts, rose shortly after dawn and went about similar activities in the privacy of their house and kitchen and only first appeared in the community at 8 am when the Director blew her whistle to begin school.

The children came straggling from different directions towards the classrooms and slowly and disinterestedly lined up in front of the 'noble' classroom according to grade and height. There, with hands on hearts and under the baking sun, they gave a faltering rendition of the national anthem (an impossibly difficult tune), the 'Lord's Prayer' and 'Ave Maria'. They then filed into their respective classrooms, a few in the obligatory school uniform, but the majority in t-shirts and cotton shorts or skirts and all barefoot.

In the 'noble' classroom the children sat in two rows, one comprising Grade 3 and 4 children and the other at right angles comprising the Grade 5 and 6 children. Many of the latter group sat uncomfortably with their legs twined around the undersize furniture. The day began, as it always did, with maths and the lesson proceeded in a pattern familiar to the pupils: the Grade 3/4 children watched and waited while the teacher wrote fractions on the blackboard together with a sentence explaining what had to be done: "order the fractions according to increasing number, then into decreasing number". The teacher read out this instruction, reminded them of similar work they had being doing the previous day, and then left them to copy everything on the board, including the written instructions, into their exercise books. The teacher then turned her attention to the other Grades. Once the latter had their work she walked back across the classroom to the group ordering the fractions and began to call them to the board one by one to complete the work in front of their grade. The other children watched and copied so that at the completion of the lesson all the children had perfect answers.

This routine of writing work for copying on different blackboards and Grades was interrupted when the teacher discovered that one pupil had no pencil. She had to leave the classroom, return to her hut, take a new pencil from the supply she bought in Puerto Maldonado before term started, mark the amount due by the parents for this pencil in a record book and then return to the classroom. When she left the classroom the pupils erupted into an uproar which subsided just as abruptly on her return. The orderly atmosphere of the classroom was punctuated by crescendos of talking in Harakmbut and giggling between groups of children which were quelled by a roar from the teacher and toddlers came and went in and out of the classroom at will, some of whom were in the nominal care of siblings in the class.

The classroom had an echoing empty feeling with a few torn and weathered posters of Jesus and Mary and a tattered map of Peru (before Regionalisation in 1988) on the overlapping plank walls. Wind, rain and small children entered both classrooms after school hours through the large gap between the top of the windowless walls and the roof. They wrecked havoc with the few school materials there were. The classroom had one shelf stacked with 1990 editions of the 'Bible for Young People', which was the newest and most numerous publication in the school, as well as a few pages from an atlas and some highly technical pages on the human body. The community's pet bird made a visit to the class and continued its pastime of shredding the atlas pages, just out of reach of the teacher, who said she had given up trying to preserve books from the myriad of destructive elements.

There was a half-hour break in the middle of the morning when the children rushed outside to play football, disappeared into the forest in search of fruits or went to chase small birds with slings. The whistle brought them all back again to continue with a lesson on Spanish language. In this part of the morning Grades 3/4 copied conjugations of the verb 'to write' and 'to eat' in their exercise books in the past, present and future tenses. The other grades copied the correct usage of the vowels 'll' and 'y' and were then tested verbally on their memorisation of the rule. Those who faltered were called stupid (tonto).

Maths and language formed the basis of each school day but the last hour was given over to the other subjects on the national curriculum which included history of Peru, natural sciences, art education, religious education, work training and, for grades 5 and 6, geography and civic education. The remainder of the morning was spent on a lesson about 'Domesticated Animals Brought by the Spaniards' which included a lecture by the teacher about the nutritional value of cows and a lamentation that the community did not own any.

Meanwhile, in the other classroom that morning the children started the day with two catchy evangelical songs they had been singing together for most of the term. Here the children sat in rows divided into first and second grade by an isle which led to the teacher's desk. Two blackboards hung side by side, one in front of each grade. At the back of the class, near the door, were some desks for the initial pupils. In the centre of one wall was a home-made poster of Jesus and the alphabet and vowel sounds written in coloured chalks directly onto the wooden planks. In addition there were two home-made posters with numbers from 1 to 100 and another with numbers illustrated pictorially in units (i.e. 1 house, 2 bears, 3 trees). Two wall-mounted cardboard boxes held assorted games and work sheets and a broken table supported assorted textbooks and old workbooks.

The second graders settled down to copying and completing 2 X table multiplications from the blackboard which kept them occupied for an hour. Meanwhile, the first grade worked with the teacher from a colourful poster of a huge grand piano, repeating words which were printed below in Spanish. While most of the teacher's attention was focused on this language lesson, she was at the same time overseeing the work of the four Initial students who were restlessly copying over and over again words which she had written into their jotters in cursive script. One of the Initial pupils, who had been running in and out of the classroom, decided to leave and go home and only returned towards

the end of the school day, having changed clothes and had something to eat.

Meanwhile the teacher became aware that five of her class were sharing pencils and she had to cross the community to get new pencil so that the children could participate in the lesson.

The second grade children were eventually released from their multiplication table to copy a paragraph about the Peruvian national hero, Miguel Grau, who led the Peruvian navy during the War of the Pacific and died in 1879 "after defending our country with great heroism" (Sembrador Grade 2, 1986 edition, page 350). The children copied an illustration of Miguel Grau from Sembrador into their exercise books.

As they were completing this task one of the mothers appeared coyly at the door of the classroom and caught the teacher's attention. She complained that someone had pulled out the manioc shoots in her garden and she wanted the teacher to find the culprit. Looking quite disinterested, the teacher told the class not to steal, then quickly returned to her teaching tasks.

After break the same grade followed on in the vein of national patriotism with a lesson on the National Symbols of Peru: the flag, the coat of arms and the national anthem. The same format was followed: a short paragraph was written on the board from Sembrador Grade 2, and the children copied it into their exercise books. The first graders did some addition using matchboxes and wrote their answers on their desks in chalk then returned to learning words from Palomito.

Towards the end of the morning the teacher presented a history lesson for the second graders, taken from the Sembrador Grade 2, and entitled 'Christopher Columbus Discovers America'. The teacher copied a short paragraph from the handbook onto the blackboard providing information about Columbus' place of birth, the name of his ships and the number of men with whom he sailed. It ended: "On the 12th October 1492, after a long and difficult journey by sea, Columbus discovered the American Continent. Would you like to sail in one of Columbus' ships? Why? Write your answer" (Sembrador Grade 2, 1986:337).

However, the allotted time was up before the children could begin to answer the questions. After three and a half hours of copying six or seven isolated words again and again in their jotters, the Initial children were gathered together with the others to hear the story of 'Little Red Riding Hood' before the school day ended.

At midday, the children were released and the empty classrooms padlocked. The teachers hurried back to their house to have lunch and a siesta. The children ran off to the river to swim, play in the forest or accompany their mothers to the gardens to collect vegetables and fruit. Meanwhile the teachers passed the remainder of the day in the cool of their house and in the late afternoon went to a secluded spot by the river to bathe. Some days there was time before darkness fell to go and visit some of the houses and chat with the families, but on this day one of the old women arrived escorted by her daughter to receive an injection of antibiotics to try to stave off the worst effects of her tuberculosis.

As darkness fell around 6 pm the Director started up the small generator and tuned into the Diocesan network on the fixed wave radio. She revelled in the small pieces of gossip she could pick up. Occasionally she spoke to the Padres in Shintuya or Puerto Maldonado and sometimes the children at Sepahua boarding school were able to speak with their parents. But transmitting used up their supplies of expensive petrol and the teachers kept communications to a minimum, usually just listening in. A small group of children and adults came to sit on the floor at the teacher's feet to listen to the crackling voices. But by 7.30 pm most of the families were indoors, lying in bed talking and the children fast asleep. The teachers had a light meal and went to bed.

GLOSSARIES

GLOSSARY OF SPANISH WORDS

ayahuasca	Banisteriopsis caapi, hallucinogenic root.
barbasco	a shrub with long roots. The sap of the roots is extracted and used in fishing.
boquichico	fish in the carp family.
campesino	Andean Indian. The term was officially used when Campesino Communities Comunidad Campesino was created as a legal and administrative unit by the Velsco Regime in Peru in 1974.
clausura	official school year closing ceremony
comadre	godmother, or godmother of one's child
compadrazgo	godparenthood (cf. footnote 7, Chapter 4)
compadre	godfather, or godfather of one's child
Comunidad Nativa	Native Community (legal and administrative unit).
indigenismo	indigenism (see footnote 1, Chapter 2).
indigenistas	indigenists (as above).
inicial	initial. Used here with reference to kindergarten (Initial) grade in primary school.
internado	boarder at boarding school.
kermesse	activity in benefit of the school (such as fete or party).
patron	boss, foreman.
maloca	communal house.
materiales nobles	manufactured building materials such as concrete and corrugated iron.
materiales rusticos	local building materials
patron(es)	boss, landlord.
peon(es)	worker or labourer.
Sole	Peruvian unit of money (1991 1 Sole = 1 US$).

GLOSSARY OF HARAKMBUT WORDS

akudnui	white-lipped peccary.
amiko	non-Harakmbut.
bign	fish.
chindign	curing chant.
e'iok	to give.
e'ka'a	to work (physical, skilled, also sexual activity).
e'mamboya	to draw.
e'mba'a	to work (hard physical labour).
e'mbachapak	to narrate, to tell a myth.
e'mandoya	to write.
e'machinowa	to sing.
e'manokay	to cure.
'embire	to be embarrassed, shy.
e'mbogntokoy	to performate the lower lip (of a man) with a spine from the peach palm.
e'ndikka	to name.
e'nopwe	to know, to be knowledgeable.
e'ohtokoy	nose piercing ceremony when a youth becomes a man.
e'paimpak	'ceremony of the feathers' when a male child becomes a youth.
haktone	communal long house or 'maloca' (Sp.).
ho	fruit of the peach palm.
keme	tapir.
kumo	shrub with roots used in fishing (barbasco).
kusipe	wooden board for carrying a baby.
kusogn	basket for fishing.
mama	cayman.
mamore	sabalo (large fish).

mbegnko	woodpecker.
mbapa	three (3)
mbota	two (2)
mbotambota	four (4)
mokas	collared peccary.
muneyo	young woman.
muneyo'po	becoming a woman.
ndakyorokeri	beneficial spirits which talk to hunters through dreams.
nokiren	spirit or soul matter.
nongchinda	one (1)
pane	grandfather.
sikidnmbi	semi-mythological whale-like giant fish.
sinon	baby (from five months unti walking).
taka	other Harakmbut peoples who are unfriendly.
tamba	garden or small plot.
tonco	fibres from the setico tree.
toto	potentially harmful spirit.
wahaipi	person of Andean descent but also used more generally for 'colonist' or non-indigenous person.
wamandoyeri	someone who attends school.
wamanoka'eri	someone who cures through chants (chindigns).
wambet	kin group.
wambo	young man.
wambo'po	becoming a young man.
wamanoka'eri	curer.
wambokerek	man.
wanamba	a weak person.
wandik	name.

wapoybedn	baby (from four to five months old).
wasipo	child.
waso	body.
watone	old person.
wawedn	mat.
waweri	spirits of the river.
wayorokeri	shaman (who has close contact with the spirits through dreaming).
wenpu	string bag.
wetone	woman.
yamandoya	write!
yombedn	baby (from birth to four months).

GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

ACJEBU	Asociación de Cesantes y Jubilados en la Educación Bilingüe del Departamento de Ucayali y la Provincia de Ucayali Association of Retired Bilingual Education Workers in the Department of Ucayali.
ADEISP	Asociación de Estudiantes Indígenas de la Amazonía Peruana Association of Indigenous Students of the Peruvian Rainforest.
AIDEMAD	Asociación Indígena de Estudiantes de Madre de Dios Association of Indigenous Students of Madre de Dios.
AIDESEP	Asociación Interetnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana Inter-ethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Rainforest.
ANPIBAC	Allianza Nacional de Profesionales Indígenas Bilingües, A.C. National Alliance of Indigenous Bilingual Professionals.
CAAAP	Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Practica Centre for Amazon Anthropology and Practice.
COICA	Coordinadora de la Cuenca Amazonica Coordinadora of the Amazon Basin.
DIGEBIL	Dirección General de Educación Bilingüe, Directorate for Intercultural Bilingual Education.
FENAMAD	Federación de Nativos del Rio Madre de Dios y sus Afluentes Native Federation of the River Madre de Dios and its Tributaries.
III	Instituto Indigenista Internacional International Indigenist Institute.
ISP	Instituto Pedagógico Superior (Peruvian Teacher Training College).
IWGIA	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs.
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation.
PEBIAN	Programa de Educación Bilingüe e Intercultural del Alto Napo Intercultural Bilingual Education Programme of the Upper Napo.
RESSOP	Red Escolar de la Selva del Sur Oriente Peruano Educational Network of the South East Peruvian Rainforest (referred to in the text as the Dominican School Network).
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics (North American Protestant Organisation).
USE	Unidad de Servicios Educativos Educational Services Unit USE (Local Education Authority).

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